

Design for Democrats

The Autobiography
of
A Free Journal

By

25 MEN

[Catholic Action]

[2nd Edition]

PRICE 2/-

"THE CATHOLIC WORKER"
Melbourne, Australia
1944



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An
Australian
Tribute
to
HILAIRE BELLOC
for
his 74th Year



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PREFACE

This book is an autobiography—the autobiography of a free newspaper and a national movement.

Founded eight years ago, this paper has ever since strengthened and extended the movement and the three great causes to which both stand committed: Australian Christianity, the Australian National Spirit and the Australian Working-Class.

No other journal devoted to any one of these causes has attained the circulation or equalled the range and variety of the influence of the singular newspaper whose significant story this book relates. This fact the impartial historian may well attribute to the circumstance that the newspaper under discussion occupies an extraordinary position in Australia as one of the few remaining bastions of the free press.

The Australian daily press is not free to-day. For its readers the Australian daily press is largely a sedative, an irritant or a diversion; for its proprietors an investment and the most powerful weapon of organised wealth; and for its journalists a means of livelihood in which the right to personal expression no longer exists.

In England a generation ago a similar situation prevailed. But Hilaire Belloc and the Chestertons, in "The Eye-Witness," and Alfred Orage, in "The New Age," restored to men of the English tongue the tradition of fighting journalism at the head of which stands the immortal, commanding figure of William Cobbett. In their beginnings, however, these two splendid journals lacked, to some extent, a co-ordinating philosophy, and, while distinctively national, a strong social and popular basis. To this latter deficiency also must be attributed the difficulties met by the first "Australia," the vigorous and informed national journal which first saw the light in this country during the course of the Great War of 1914-18.

Profiting by the inspiration and experience of these three journals, a group of Australian workers and students united in the year 1936 to establish a free newspaper in Australia. For a philosophy they looked to the Catholic Church and for a policy they consulted the needs of the Australian working-class community from which they sprung.

Without writing experience and without capital, these young men set about the service of their fellow-workers, regardless of creed. They sought to defend no ecclesiastical interest, but only justice, and in their civic capacity met no sort of ecclesiastical dictation or control. Before long they enjoyed the confidence of leaders of the Church and the Industrial Movement and obtained the allegiance of Australian citizens by the hundred thousand.

Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians rallied to their aid and with them promoted those great stirrings of the Christian Conscience in Australia which have been responsible for the formulation of the vital and creative declarations of Social Policy appearing as Appendices to this book.

The path of these young men, now largely scattered over the battlefields of the world, was the path of the pioneer blazing the trail. Lest the early achievement be forgotten, the record of their efforts and the nature of their views are here presented in articles which have appeared in the columns of the Australian "Catholic Worker" over the past eight years.

Now solidly established, the "C.W." tells its story in its own words in the hope that those Christian Democrats who survive this terrible war will complete the great Design.

THE EDITORS.

17th March, 1944.

Design for Democrats

CHAPTER I.

The Story of the Beginnings

1. *HOW WE GOT GOING.*
2. *TWO YEARS' PROGRESS.*
3. *WHY WE FIGHT.*
4. *FIVE YEARS OF ACTION.*
5. *SEVEN YEARS' STRUGGLE.*
6. *PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.*
7. *POLITICS.*

1.—HOW WE GOT GOING.

Here, as we told it in February, 1936, is the story of the beginning of the "Catholic Worker":—

"It's exactly 18 months ago since the idea of starting a paper for the Catholic workers of Australia was first mooted. We wanted a paper which would give the worker's point of view on questions affecting his life and the conditions in which he lived it. We were the first to realise the value of the work done by our existing Catholic press, but we thought there was room for another which would specialise along these lines.

"The example of our American comrades was an inspiration to us. Dorothy Day, Dorothy Weston, Peter Maurin and A. H. Coddington had built up their paper to a circulation of over 120,000. There was a 'Catholic Worker' in Montreal. There was a 'Catholic Worker' in London. The Jocistes of France and Belgium were doing magnificent work in the journalistic field. We thought that we would do our little bit.

"Those 18 months were pretty barrowing. We had no money. But we had tons of hope that God wouldn't let us down. He didn't. The Champions—local groups especially—were all encouragement. Promises of support rolled in from the suburban organisations. We went ahead. For two days we gave the printer hell. We didn't have any experience. The articles seemed all wrong. Some were too long, some too short. Some didn't fit where they were meant to.

"Zero hour was Wednesday evening, January 29th, 1936. The paper was printed, but not properly dry. In a little shop in one

of the suburbs, 20 chaps were gathered. A motley crowd. A couple of undergraduates, a brewery worker, a couple of teachers, two grocers, half-a-dozen factory hands, a Corpus Christi student. They were all there, sitting on two chairs, five boxes and a counter. The first thousand copies arrived. For two hours the boys toiled solidly at folding and parcelling them, posting a copy to every Bishop and to every priest in the Archdiocese and at a dozen kindred jobs. A priest and half-a-dozen fellows from the Evidence Guild showed up at about half-past ten. Packing completed, we said a decade of the Rosary for the success of the paper, and then drank its health.

SUNDAY, 2nd FEBRUARY, 1936.

"Next day we borrowed a couple of cars to carry out distribution throughout the Archdiocese. Friday and Saturday we rested. Sunday, and everywhere we were off. The editor arrived home from Mass at 9.15 a.m., and he had hardly put his nose in the door before the telephone started to ring. 'Glenhantly calling—sold our hundred at 7 o'clock Mass. Want another 150.' 'Haven't got one in the place. You'll have to wait until next Sunday.' In quick succession, calls from a dozen other places. All had sold out. All wanted more. But our first issue was completely gone, and all had to wait until a reprint of several thousands was rushed through.

"A dozen copies to New York, more to Montreal, some to London, some to Suva, some to Falkland Islands, the furthest outpost of civilisation. Tallangatta, Gisborne and Malmesbury, and bush places with unpronounceable names—all got a few copies apiece. A telegram from the Most Reverend Dr. Fox, Bishop of Wilcannia-Forbes, requesting the immediate despatch of 100 copies to Broken Hill."

1938.

2.—TWO YEARS' PROGRESS.

In February, 1938, we looked back upon a period, of labour and endeavour, mixed with failure and success, but with our unity unbroken:—

"In the two years which separate us from the 29th January, 1936, 730,000 copies of the paper have been distributed. Compared with the enormous circulation of the dailies, the Sydney 'Sun,' the Melbourne 'Herald,' the Brisbane 'Courier-Mail,' and the rest, papers which sell more copies in a week than we have sold in two years, it may seem laughable that we put our circulation figures down in writing.

"And yet we are fairly proud of them!

"You see, on the 29th January, 1936, the 'C.W.' had £7/6/- in the bank, and our first bill for printing and distribution was well over £20. Poor printer! Looking back, it seems easy. Advertisements could have supplied the finances required. Yes, but in those days there wouldn't have been too many people who would have been willing to advertise in a paper which in the normal course of events could have been expected to live two months. And in any case, we

haven't had to take advertisements up till to-day. And so long as our finances permit us to do without them, do without them we will!

"Perhaps the most valuable benefit which we personally have derived from running the paper is the contact which we have made with people of every class, who have assisted us to succeed where alone we must have failed.

"For instance, we wish we could communicate to our readers the warm bond of comradeship which binds us to helpers like our distributor in Daylesford (Vic.). Men would not call him young. He is over seventy years of age. Seventy years old? No, seventy years young! There was a day, last winter, when Victoria was gripped in a bitter spell of cold weather. In some Melbourne suburbs it rained, and distribution had to be suspended. In Daylesford, it snowed. And yet at the early Mass, while the snow was still falling, he was there, and business went on as usual.

"For many of us, selling the paper was as new an experience as writing it. To the best of our knowledge only one member of the Central Committee had sold the daily papers in the streets in his youth. And although we didn't have to 'whip behind' trams to sell the 'C.W.,' still to cry our wares in front of the various churches in a tenor voice that is not too sweet, a baritone that is a bit cracked, or a deep bass that sinks into your boots, is no picnic when you have no illusions about its quality. Still, every person who writes for the 'C.W.' must have sold it himself. Otherwise there would be no community between writers, sellers and readers; and when this community disappears, the ideal behind the 'C.W.' will have been lost. Distributing 10,000 dodgers announcing the second issue of the paper among the St. Patrick's Day crowd was the first experience of this kind of the writers of the first issue.

"Distribution has had its funny side as well. Word reached us, on one occasion, that Adelaide was short of papers. A telegram was immediately sent: 'Five hundred "Catholic Workers" arriving by next train.' Two days later we heard that certain politically minded officials of the telegraph office, evidently with the October Insurrection, or the March on Rome, or the Eureka Stockade in mind, had evidently informed the authorities to expect trouble when five hundred 'huskies' arrived by train—perhaps to start the revolution.

"And talking of revolutions reminds us of the reader who, having finished with his copy of the issue which dealt with the policy of Catholic workers in relation to the proposed United Front with the Communist Party, posted it to Stalin. The address, he informed us, was Joseph Stalin, Esq., The Kremlin, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Despite our admiration for our reader's enterprise, we do not anticipate that any radical change in Soviet policy will result from this move.

"We are more optimistic, however, where our other overseas efforts are concerned. Several hundred copies of the 'C.W.' now circulate regularly in India, and our friend, Fr. Adisayam, often raises drooping spirits by heartening notes in which he tells us that the

'C.W.' has become a valuable ally of 'Social Justice,' India's own workers' paper, in the apostolate of Catholic Social Action.

"It was great, at the beginning of last year, to receive a letter from Belloc's daughter, Mrs. Reginald Jebb, with which she included a large autographed photo. of that great fighter for the restoration of property to the masses. It was even better when we received that letter from Belloc himself—the letter in which he declared that, even if the fight against the Servile State was lost in England, at least we had a chance in Australia. And the way in which Father Martindale—the busiest man in England—finds time to send us regular articles for publication in our columns, simply beats us.

"It may look like coming down from the sublime to the ridiculous to mention the fellows who went on a motor trip through Gippsland for three days round about New Year, and distributed three thousand copies of the paper en route.

"But the happiest day of all was the day we received the answer to the cablegram which we had sent to his Holiness Pope Pius XI., on the publication of the great Encyclical, 'Divini Redemptoris': 'His Holiness extends to you, as a pledge of Divine assistance, the Apostolic Benediction.' If the work itself was not sufficient return for any efforts exerted—and it is more, far more than sufficient—there was the return. And when the Archbishops and Bishops of Australasia, in their Pastoral Letter issued at the end of the Synod, recommended the 'C.W.' to the one and a half million Catholics of Australia—well, we weren't jubilant; we were overwhelmed!

"The only thing which, at the end of two years, we really need and which we lack, is financial stability. Those reserves, which at one period we thought might come, are still away in the distance."

3.—WHY WE FIGHT.

Clearly, then, the "C.W." had entered the lists to fight; this was the challenge:—

"We have come into existence because there is a solution which the Catholic Church alone can provide, and because there is a taunt to which the Church must reply. The problem which has to be solved is the social problem, a problem of universal importance, affecting every nation and every individual. The solution must of its nature be a revolutionary one, and the Church is the only organisation which has a revolutionary teaching. The new Communism is only the old capitalism plus a little missionary fervour. Both are the illegitimate offspring of the same diseased materialism; both insult Man by regarding him as a labour unit rather than as God's noblest creation; both regulate their behaviour by economic expediency rather than by considerations of justice. Catholicism is the only creed which proclaims the inviolability of the personality of every individual; which proclaims that every individual must be in receipt of sufficient means to be free from that perpetual anxiety concerning his livelihood, which distracts his mind from primary things.

"The taunt to which we reply is the frequent Communist allegation that the Catholic Church is a Church of the bosses. Never was there a greater lie. Capitalism has no more deadly an opponent than the Church. How is it possible for us, as Catholics, to have the slightest sympathy for a system which has de-Christianised the world by its insistence on secular education; which has sacrificed the Home on the altar of the Machine; which has deprived the ordinary man of property and has destroyed his liberty? We oppose Communism. Can we, then, love Communism's brother, Capitalism?

"We fight with victory before us, because we know what we are fighting and what we want. We state positively that if there is to be reform, it must begin with the individual. Until we can instil our ideas into the masses, until we teach them to regulate their actions in accordance with the social doctrines of the Church, and not merely to render lip-service to them, reform is impossible. Even if Communism were the ideal economic system—which we deny—we do not believe that it would ever work in the hands of men who do not possess any moral reason for not being corrupt. We are not the only ones who realise that a change in human nature must come. The Communists aim at the creation of what they think is a new character—the Communist man. But this character cannot be built up until we have gone through the purifying fires of a Communist revolution—a blood bath in the best Communist and Nazi style. The Marxists optimistically expect good to come from evil. We know human nature better.

"Ours is the harder road, but it is the only sure one.

"Reform the individual first. Society will follow. Until men become living Christians there will be no solution to the social problem. We have a fight ahead of us—let us labour under no illusions as to its bitterness. The might of the Soviet and of Hitler is turned against us.

"It's a fight. But we have been fighting for two thousand years. Victory has always been ours. It will be ours again, for our leader is Christ the King; our standard is the Cross."—(*February 1st, 1936.*)

1941.

4.—FIVE YEARS OF ACTION.

Five years—half a decade—had gone by and again we turned back to the paper's birth:—

"All through that summer afternoon five years ago, the workers and students who formed our first Central Committee stood eagerly about a tiny printing press as the first copies of the new paper that has meant so much for Australian Catholics and Australian workers came into being. As we worked and studied, we had dreamed and planned, with the towering vision of Pius XI., the greatest Pope of modern times, steadily before our eyes.

"To-day we can boast—it is not our boast: it is the boast of Australian workers up and down the land—that no less than two and a

quarter million copies of the 'C.W.' have reached the minds and hearts of those who work with us for Christ, Australia and social justice."

We re-capitulated the reasons for the "C.W.'s" existence:—

"We started the 'C.W.' first of all to emphasise the truth that, without a determined effort to understand and apply the social teaching of the Catholic Church, Christian workers would find it impossible to build a new social order worthy of Christ and the working-class.

"In the second place, we started the 'C.W.' with the object of making Catholics realise that they had, as citizens and workers, the duty of translating the principles laid down by the Church into action, and of putting Christian theory into Australian practice.

"In the third place, we started the 'C.W.' in order that Australians generally might have, month by month, examples of the way in which a number of Catholic workers applied Christian principles to the industrial struggle and economic and social problems.

"Next, and to-day most important of all, we strove to persuade Catholic workers to better the example we tried to set and, without adhering slavishly to our private views or personal policies, to go out into their unions and into society at large and to work unceasingly for the building up of a new Christian social order based on Catholic social teaching.

"Finally, we hoped to teach in concrete example rather than by way of dry theory the social doctrine of the Popes and Christendom.

"From the start, we wrote and fought, not to gain material or economic concessions for Catholics alone, but to improve in every way the spiritual, moral and material life of all workers, irrespective of creed or trade or occupation. The common good of all citizens, the triumph of social justice in every department of national life, has been our constant aim.

"It is not the function of the Church or of the 'C.W.' to present a cut-and-dried plan for social reconstruction. In its official capacity the Church is concerned primarily with the teaching of doctrine and the essential work committed to it by Christ. It is not the function of the Church in its official capacity to undertake the temporal direction of human affairs. With all these the Church deals only when moral issues are involved.

"Nor can the 'C.W.' in its unofficial capacity speak on every question. It is still confined to presenting examples of the way in which major social issues may be tackled in the light of Christian principle. Other workers in this country may hit upon a more apt and apposite application of Catholic social doctrine to Australian affairs. But so long as the need exists we will continue to write in the hope of stimulating social change and progress to a more Christian social order. We fight for the gospel of Christian, and against the Marxist and Capitalist, Revolution.

"But until every man and woman who reads this paper makes of himself a revolutionary for Christ, collaborating with our brother

workers not of the Faith, in field, farm and factory, the real Revolution will not be under way.

"Every worker should, therefore, become an apostle of Christ and of the working-class."—(February, 1941.)

After these five years, the paper was stabilised.

"Last year our circulation reached its peak of 55,000 copies per month—at which it is forced to remain until the war-time rationing of paper is lifted.

"Practically every parish in Australia and New Zealand receives some copies of our paper, whilst we have distributors in England, Scotland, Ireland, America, Rome and Japan. In Egypt the 'C.W.' is read by many members of the A.I.F.; in Australia military and air force camps receive free copies for distribution.

"On the north-west coast of West Australia, at Broome, the 'C.W.' is read by half-caste children and adults on the mission station. Further north, in Darwin, it is the only Catholic paper sold, and reprints from it frequently find their way into the Darwin daily paper.

"Without the permission of the hierarchy and the clergy to sell the paper within their dioceses and parishes, our efforts would be useless, fruitless. To them, then, we owe a special gift of gratitude.

"But the real success of our paper depends on our thousands of distributors scattered throughout the length and breadth of Australia and New Zealand. They form an integral part of the Catholic Worker movement. Their tremendous self-sacrifice in selling the paper, month by month, in the depth of winter and the heat of summer, renders certain the future of our paper and stimulates to greater efforts the workers on the Central Committee.

"To single out a few distributors for particular mention may seem unfair to the remainder. But we feel sure that our readers will be interested in the work of a few of our distributors chosen at random.

"Familiar to all Melbournians is the seventy-year-old Mr. Hoare, who sells every month at the corner of Elizabeth and Flinders Streets. Mr. Hoare braves all kinds of weather and people, and manages to dispose of 300 copies each month."—(February, 1941.)

"On the first Sunday of every month a young man in ———, a little country town, stands outside the door of his church, selling 'C.W.'s' after the 9 o'clock Mass. As soon as the last person has left the grounds, he hops on his bicycle and hurries off to a neighbouring town ten miles away to catch the congregation coming out of the 10 o'clock Mass there.

"That is the story of one of our distributors—one among many—and the Central Committee thrills when it hears of such efforts in the service of the paper. But it feels that such heroic deeds should not be necessary, that someone in that neighbouring parish should take it on himself, if not to sell, then at least to see that someone sells the 'C.W.' in that parish.

"It prefers to hear of exploits such as the fellow who shifted recently to a new parish in a Melbourne suburb and found that no means were provided of purchasing the paper in that district. He arranged with friends to see that in future it was sold after every Mass, not only at his own church, but at every church in the surrounding district."—(May, 1939.)

"Familiar to Friday night shoppers in Melbourne are the boys of the Legion of Mary Press Squad, who invade the city each month to sell a large number of copies.

"Throughout the coalfields of New South Wales our circulation is large, because of the fine organisation of the Society of St. Clement Hausbauer, which exists solely to organise the distribution of Catholic literature. Further north, in Rockhampton, our circulation has increased four hundred per cent. in the last year, mainly because of the press squads and the great organising ability of the man in control of them.

"Away on the goldfields of West Australia our circulation is very high. Difficult years lie ahead of the 'C.W.' At present we are just paying our way, and the increased cost of newspaper, combined with the war-time rationing of paper, has hit us badly. But we know that the foundations of the 'Catholic Worker' are laid on a solid rock—the enthusiasm and hard work of our hundreds of distributors."—(February, 1941.)

When the war began, the "C.W." had perforce to be issued in abbreviated form:—

"The change is due to the fact that nearly all our writers are under arms, writing and studying under heavy disabilities. Nor can we reasonably hope to receive any further shipments of newspaper while the war lasts. By voluntarily reducing our size we can hope to last twice as long in respect of supplies. Moreover, we assist to release our printer's staff for war work.

"By re-arranging our types and eliminating pictures, we hope to be able to print three-quarters of the printed matter of previous issues. The paper is still worth a penny of anyone's money.

"When the history of our country is written, the devotion and self-sacrifice of our distributors will stand as an epic of the Faith and of modern journalism. We feel that we must, even amid the din of battle, continue while we may to stress the supremacy of spiritual values. Effective distribution of the paper will call for even greater devotion and self-sacrifice on your part. For some of you, it will entail personal peril and even loss of life.

"We salute you! We call you to new heights of service! One day the war will be over. Whatever happens, the New World will be a Workers' World. Pray and work that the 'Catholic Worker' may emerge into the sunlight of peace."—(January, 1942.)

1943.

5.—OUR SEVEN YEARS' STRUGGLE.

After three and a half years of war, the "C.W." re-examined its function:—

"February, 1943, marks the seventh birthday of the Australian 'Catholic Worker.' Eighty-four issues, involving the distribution of several million copies, have been published. After seven years of continuous struggle it can be truthfully said that this paper is the one Australian publication which is Christian, national and working-class.

"Already, it has exercised a profound and enriching influence on the social thought and public life of the country; it has been one of the principal means of educating workers in the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, and it has been one of the most powerful instruments of social justice.

"It has taught workers and it has fought for workers, because from the very start it has been written by men who have had to work for their living. It has been maintained, not by subsidies from the rich, but exclusively by the pennies paid for it month after month by its readers, and by the honorary services of those who so generously have arranged for its distribution.

"The writers of the paper have never lost contact with their fellow workers. When we started, way back in 1936, several of us were out of work, or working only part time. We had known what unemployment was. For three years and a half we carried on, trying to secure justice and keep the peace, till war broke out clearly as a result of the rejection of the policies we espoused.

"In September, 1939, few of us really believed that the paper could survive three and a half years of war. Since the war, we have grown in strength, in circulation and influence, still sharing the life of the Australian people. Of our honorary contributors, three-fourths are with the Army, Navy and Air Force. What is equally important, those who fight still write. Hardly an issue passes without the publication of some article written at a battle-station.

"Yet writers, readers and distributors cannot afford to rest on past achievement. The object for which we came into being is still not achieved. We have still to inspire all Australians with a love for Christ and a passion for justice. We have still to play our part in making a New Order that is also the right order. We have great obstacles to overcome, great dangers to avoid, a great task to fulfil. We shall have to vanquish Capitalism and to defeat Communism. Fools and fanatics, greedy men and ambitious men, stand in the path of the people.

"There exists now, more than ever before, the need for a monthly publication such as this which, without committing the

Church to its policy or demanding the assent of all Catholics to its proposals, will yet give Australian workers an example of the way in which Christian principles can inspire a programme designed to establish the Kingdom of God on earth, and to prepare men for their everlasting destiny."—(*February, 1943.*)

6.—PRINCIPLES OF ACTION.

"The 'Catholic Worker' exists primarily to bring those principles to the working masses; for without the widespread acceptance of Catholic social teaching no solution of the social problem as a whole or of any particular social problem is thinkable. Not that it is the duty, not that it lies within the power, of the Church officially to solve purely temporal problems such as the shorter working week or the unification of railway gauges. The Church itself has a far higher mission: the salvation of each human soul. In order that that mission may be accomplished, the Church officially must teach men how to will, think and act, as individuals, as members of families and of society. And in teaching us, the writers and readers of this paper, that we owe a duty to our fellow workers and to Australia, the Church imposes on each of us the special task of making known, to the best of our ability, these eternal principles of right and wrong which affect human acts and human activity in a corrupt social order. We know of few better ways of making those principles better known and better loved than applying them to the concrete problems which beset us as workers and as citizens. In applying them, we may make mistakes; but at least we make the effort, asked of each of us to-day by the Vicar of Christ on Earth, of bringing Christianity back into the workshop, the mine and the factory. In order that all Catholics may make just such an effort, we have tried for the last three and a half years to expound Catholic social principles and to apply them to the position of the Australian worker in the Australian environment.

"In expounding the teaching of the Church, we have sought first to put before our readers all that the Church officially has taught, and secondly, to bring our readers into touch with all that great Catholic minds have taught about the urgent issues of the day. Were we to have confined ourselves only to that task of exposition, we should have been in a technical sense a Catholic Action paper. But quite deliberately, we have felt that of Catholic workers a more precise work was expected by their fellow-workers in Australia, who wish to see Catholic minds in action. In just this field the Church officially has normally no direct mission; but it is here that the individual Catholic and the unofficial Catholic group may find a particular vocation. In responding to that vocation we act only as individuals, but as individuals working and writing as members of a group, checking each other's peculiarities, complementing each other's knowledge. To our particular solutions we do not commit the Church officially.

"If all Catholics were likewise to try and apply Catholic social principles, even if in applying them they were occasionally to apply them differently, the cumulative effect of so many thousands of Catholic minds, all striving after a better social order, would in little time bring us infinitely nearer to the ideal of Social Justice." (*July, 1939.*)

"The Pope tells us very plainly that the State has made a mess of its attempts to solve the social question, and he tells us why and he tells us how the State should set about it. We shall not be more prudent than the Pope. The State has not solved the social question in Australia. We shall continue to tell politicians that, as far as we can see, they are going on wrong lines and, though they are making well-meaning efforts, they are dealing with symptoms but are not coming to grips with the disease.—(*April, 1938.*)

"Insofar as the 'C.W.' lays down the principles of social re-organisation, it has no wish to express doctrine not in harmony with that proclaimed by Leo XIII. and Pius XI., in their great Encyclicals. But, where these are silent, the 'C.W.' has no hesitation in invoking the views and teachings of recognised Catholic social leaders like Dr. Coffey, of Maynooth; Father von Nell-Breuning, of Germany; Dr. John A. Ryan, of the United States; Hilaire Belloc, Peter Maurin, and others.

"But in applying those principles to problems peculiar to Australia, the 'C.W.' does not speak officially in the name of the Church and with the voice of authority. In examining Australian conditions, in criticising proposed remedies and in formulating practical plans for solving particular problems, the 'C.W.' acts on its own initiative; the young workers and students who write for the paper try to bring their minds to bear on what is real and actual in Australian society, committing no one but themselves to the solutions propounded.

"The formation of a Catholic mind in the young men and women of Australia, a mind shaped and directed towards the apostolate, a mind bent on perfecting the individual, the family and society, the formation of just such a mind, is the chief work of Catholic Action.

"When such minds are formed, and tackle specific problems of the social and economic order, their activity no longer forms part of Catholic Action in the strict sense; it is an individual or group activity to which the Church as such is not officially committed.

"It would, therefore, be quite wrong of the Communist Party, Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd., or any individual or group of individuals, to attribute to the Church in its strictly official capacity, or to any diocesan, State, or national organisation of Catholic Action, responsibility for what appears in these columns.

"That responsibility the Central Committee of the 'C.W.' gladly and willingly assumes as an independent body; but it is a respon-

sibility the Central Committee is encouraged to bear by the confidence in the 'Catholic Worker' which the clergy and the working masses of Australia have accorded our enterprise during the past three strenuous years."—(*January, 1936.*)

7.—POLITICS.

"It is the duty of every citizen in this community to judge political acts and political issues in the light of an informed Catholic mind. According to one's light, it is one's duty to arrive at such judgments; and we let our little light shine in the darkness before men. But we do not support, we do not oppose, any political party or political grouping as such. We try ourselves to think along Christian lines, we encourage others to do likewise, but we leave the final choice between parties and men to be made by the individual Australian within the walls of the polling booth.

"Primarily we exist to bring Catholic social teaching to the working masses; in practice, we attain that end by encouraging the Christian mind to be active in its judgment of the contemporary scene. We speak chiefly to workers, because we ourselves are workers and because most Australians are workers and because in modern times the working-class frequently plays a predominant role. We write for workers, mindful of the fact that God, the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, chose to become Man."—(*July, 1939.*)

CHAPTER II.

Property for the People

1. *THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE.*
2. *WAGE-SLAVERY OR WORKERS' OWNERSHIP?*
3. *THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY.*
4. *THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY.*
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7. *PRIVATE OWNERSHIP—THREE OPINIONS.*
 - (a) *Duties and Obligations.*
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I.—THE ULTIMATE OBJECTIVE.

"In the perfect state for which Catholic social revolutionaries are fighting, every adult worker would work; would own; and control.

"When the Pope speaks of the right to private property, he defends the right of the ordinary man to property.

"When the Capitalist speaks of the right to private property, he defends the 'right' of a FEW people to own nearly all property, and ignores the claim of the ordinary man.

"Under the capitalist system, a few people own all the property. The vast majority of citizens in the capitalist State have no property, apart from a few personal belongings. These people without property are the proletariat.

"If you have no property, you are in fact the slaves of those with property.

"Property—ownership of land and capital—must continue to exist.

"The real issue is—who is to exercise the rights of ownership? Who is to own the property?

"Communism is very like Capitalism. But, under Communism, all property is confiscated by the State. All property is then said to be owned 'collectively.'

"Collective ownership is not ownership by the people. It is not ownership by the workers. It is an ownership by a clique.

"Collective ownership in a Communist State is ownership by a small group of atheist military leaders, political tyrants and public servants.

"In a Communist State the worker depends, body and soul, on the Communist Party. He rents his house and gets his wages from the Communist Party. He is the slave of the Party.

"The Catholic Social Revolutionary rejects the Capitalist system because it does not enable the worker to be a property owner. He rejects the Capitalist system because it takes property away from the workers and puts it into the hands of a small class or group—the Capitalists.

"Capitalism and Communism are sisters under the skin. Both these systems make soulless slaves of workers by depriving them of direct ownership.

"Catholic social revolutionaries wish to restore direct ownership to each and every working man.

"We want every worker to own part of the capital in his industry, to have a voice in the management of his industry, and to feel he is a useful factor in his industry.

"To ensure a living wage, we stand for a radical re-distribution of INCOME, the fruit of industry.

"To ensure social freedom and economic independence, we stand for a radical re-distribution of PROPERTY, the basis of industry.

"In order to control society, workers must have direct ownership over definite property.

"No one worker should own too much. No one worker should own too little. All should own, and all should work.

"Capitalist shareholders must become ordinary workers. Ordinary workers must become propertied shareholders.

"To construct a society wherein all owners are workers and all workers are owners is our ultimate objective. Where possible, workers should be independent owners, but in large industries they must at least be shareholders. And shareholders with a real power of control.—(June, 1936.)

2.—WAGE SLAVERY OR WORKERS' OWNERSHIP

"Whether employed or unemployed, the wage-earner is to-day at the mercy of the employer and the property-owner. The political liberty which workers enjoy is little more than a myth, because it rests on no sound economic basis.

"Workers without property are, in fact, if not yet completely in law, wage-slaves. Their status galls them; and their servitude has given rise to the resolve that, if they are to continue to work for wages, they will work, not for the profit of private employers, but only for the State, even if the State is controlled by Communists.

"It is useless merely to point out that the wage-contract is not in itself unjust: there is a world of difference between a contract under which two independent owners agree to help each other in return for wages and one under which a propertyless worker is forced to work for wages for a rich capitalist. In the one instance, equals drive the bargain; in the other, necessity enforces wage-slavery. Yet it is the latter type of wage-contract which has become universal throughout capitalist society. Not the wage-contract but the wage-system stands condemned.

"The situation to which that circumstance gives rise is fraught with danger to the whole social order: it imperils the very future of Western civilisation. To accept such a situation is an act of social and intellectual suicide.

"Pope Pius XI. rejects that situation as abnormal and extraordinary: he calls for the speedy modification of the wage-contract at least by a contract of partnership between owners and the wage-earners, by which the latter are made sharers in ownership, management and profits.

"In the light of Australian conditions and following the lead of Chesterton and Belloc, the 'Catholic Worker' advocates an even more radical and revolutionary change in the present economic order. It demands that as many workers as possible be admitted to direct ownership, and that, not in the next century, but in the present generation."—(*December, 1938.*)

"The Communists say: Rather than that some men should own property and many nothing at all, let no one own any property. The Communists believe in the transfer by force of all property to the Government, provided of course that only Communists can be the Government!

"In the Communist State, nobody, theoretically, would own property; actually, the Communist members of the Government and the Communist departmental heads would effectively own all the property of the community, even though nominal ownership would be vested in the Crown, the Hammer, the Sickle, or what not.

"The essential point to be grasped is that in the Communist order, as in the Capitalist, a minority would own the property; a minority would let houses to the majority, would employ, would control economically, the lives and destinies of the majority.

"In the Communist State, as in the Capitalist, the workers would not themselves possess property, and, as a direct consequence, would be neither legally, socially nor economically free.

"The truth is that the worker can have no real civic freedom unless and until he has economic freedom. And he can have no economic freedom unless he himself owns the land, the machine, or the shop in which or with which he works.

"Generally speaking, labour cannot be the economic basis of freedom, unless he who applies labour to goods also owns the goods on which his labour is expended. The chief need of the moment is not to transfer the means of production to the Government but to restore it to the workers. Workers must be enabled to become owners. Workers who are owners constitute the living cells of a healthy social organism.

"The disintegration of private and governmental monopolies, the distribution of property, the individual ownership of small industrial or agricultural units, the co-operative ownership of large units, these are the watchwords of radical and revolutionary reform."—*(June, 1943.)*

3.—THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Very early in its history, the "C.W.," accused of defending private property, replied:—

"We not only admit this: we go further and say that until the institution of private property is extended to the point where it is enjoyed by every human being, so long will the exploitation of the working classes by unscrupulous capitalist masters continue. Property for the Proletariat—in that slogan lies the remedy for the economic ills which to-day afflict the world. Our aim is to give to every worker not only a share in the profits of the enterprise in which he is employed, but a share in its control. Our aim is to secure for every worker the just wage, sufficient to ensure for him a decent existence; sufficient to allow him to marry; to raise a family, whose size is regulated by his own reasonable choice and not by the pressure of a starvation wage, or the commands of the birth-controllers; to educate that family; and to become possessed of sufficient property to secure the fulfilment of human personality, and a secure old age.—*(February 29th, 1936.)*

We have indicted Capitalism as being the enemy of private property:—

"Thinking Christians recognise that if they want to cling to their natural right to own private property, they cannot accept State Socialism. But do as many realise that the Church's social doctrine on property is also a most telling and convincing condemnation of Capitalism?

"The Church, which is concerned with the moral issues behind property ownership, is equally opposed to each.

"It is not only Socialism that offends against property. G. K. Chesterton once remarked that Capitalists, because they own much

property, are often mistaken to be on the side of property, when really they are obviously the enemies of it. 'They do not want their own land, but other people's.'

"Let us examine man's right to private ownership, the Capitalist's anti-social abuse of it, and the State's failure to check the immorality of the greedy: Man is not an animal bestowed only with an instinct for self-preservation. He is something more than that. He has a soul. He is endowed with reason. He has free will, accompanied by human dignity which may not be degraded since Man was created unto God's likeness.

"The possession of property is consistent with man's nature and necessary to his faculties. It is the object matter upon which his nature must be allowed to express itself.

"An individual owning more than his just share injures the common good of the community. This is where Capitalists offend. The mass of men are dispossessed; they own no property; they are degraded.

"In its exercise of the law, the State should work for the common good. Clearly, it has not, or the scourge of dispossession would never have arrived. The State may step in and take property away from a man who abuses the rights of his fellow man through economic powers attaching to the ownership of too much property. Indeed, it is the State's positive and irrevocable duty to do this.

"This is the kind of social control of productive wealth that Christian social teachers want—one that leaves unaltered the fundamental fact of man's inseparableness from property ownership."—
(November, 1942.)

4.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF PROPERTY.

(a) AUSTRALIA:

To appreciate the position, the existing situation in Australia must be examined.

"The following figures are derived from probate figures and give some idea of how property is owned by a few in Australia:—

23 per cent. left 19 per cent. of property passing;

15½ per cent. left 48 per cent. of property passing;

1½ per cent. left 33 per cent. of property passing;

60 per cent. did not leave sufficient property to necessitate the taking out of probate.

"Probate is rarely payable on property below £500."—(December, 1939.)

(b) NEW SOUTH WALES:

"Some idea of the true position regarding the ownership of property in Australia can be seen from statistics of the estates of

deceased persons in New South Wales. This State has the greatest population of all the Australian States. It is also highly industrialised, where the vast majority of workers depend on their wages for livelihood."—(*July, 1941.*)

"It is now up to the workers in that State to reach out beyond Socialism for the ideal of Social Justice—property, not for the combines or the Governments, but for the people: direct ownership individual or co-operative, of property by the workers.

"Table 476, Year Book of N.S.W. for 1939-40, sets out the number of persons who died leaving property in that State and the value of the estates they left. The figures cover the last decade. Nearly half the number of persons who died during the ten years ending June 30th, 1939, were unable to leave any property at all. That by itself is a significant fact. But more significant still is a comparison of the size or value of the estates actually left.

"Some 88,653 persons died, leaving estates worth £220,195,697. Of these, some 55,365 left estates valued at less than £1000. In other words, 62.45 per cent. of the persons who died leaving estates left property comprising only 8.39 per cent. of the total value of estates left. On the other hand, 389 persons left estates valued at over £50,000 each, and amounting all told to 19.10 per cent. of the property under consideration. 3111 of the 88,653 propertied persons dying left nearly half the wealth subject to probate.

"Bear in mind the fact that most of the smaller estates consisted of the family house and a tiny bank account, and it is apparent that the productive wealth of New South Wales is actually in the hands of a very small class.

"Only one-sixteenth of the total number dying appears to have enjoyed the ownership of productive wealth.

"If our policy means anything, it means that every citizen should at death be in a position to leave his family his share of the nation's productive wealth.

"New South Wales has to do a great deal more than any of its Cabinets have ever imagined doing, if this eminently desirable object is to be achieved. But it is a job worth doing, and worth doing well!"—(*July, 1942.*)

(c) NEW ZEALAND:

"A fairly good indication of the distribution of property in New Zealand is also provided by the estates of deceased persons. These estates are valued for the purposes of assessing death duties on them. The following table, extracted from the Official Year Book of New Zealand, shows the value of estates ranking for death duties in 1939.

Amount.	No. of Estates.	% of Total	Net Value of Estates.	Av. Value of Estate.	% of Total.
Under £500	2,619	38.0	£535,258	£205	2.9
£500-£1,000	1,249	18.1	901,649	720	5.0
£1,000-£5,000	2,189	31.7	4,899,107	2,237	27.0
£5,000-£10,000	498	7.2	3,510,388	7,020	19.4
£10,000 and over	343	5.0	8,297,207	24,404	45.7
	6,898	100.0	18,143,609		100.0

"The first point to notice is that 38 per cent. of the estates were under £500 in value. The average value of the estate in this group was £205, and these estates comprise only 3 per cent. of the total estates values.

"Fifty-six per cent. of the total estates were valued at less than £1000, but this section of the community comprised only 8 per cent. of the total estates passing. The average value of the estates left by over half of the New Zealanders dying in 1939 was £370.

"At the other extreme of the table we notice an extraordinary contrast. Only 5 per cent. of the estates valued were worth £10,000 or more, but this 5 per cent. comprised 46 per cent. of the total value of the estates passing. In other words, 5 per cent of the people who died in 1939 owned almost half of the property valued for probate purposes.

"The average value of the property owned by this section of the community was £24,404. And it must be remembered many rich people would escape probate duties by making gifts of their property some time before their death."—(*December, 1941.*)

5.—THE STATUS OF VICTORIANS

"The last (1933) census figures for Victoria revealed that, of the 1,820,261 persons in the State, no less than 1,046,059 were dependents, i.e., wives, children, students, pensioners, and gentlemen of "independent" means. The remainder of the population, in round figures, some 775,000, were engaged in economic activity.

"Of these 775,000 producers of wealth, 102,000 were fortunate enough to be working on their own account on their own property; 61,000 were rich enough to be employers of labour, and 612,000, most of whom had no productive property, were obliged to work, when they could, for others. These 612,000 employees were not, at the time of the census, all employed: only 432,000 were in regular work.

"Even if 90 per cent. of Victorian employees are now working for wages, they are not working on their own account. They have been reduced for the present to the status of wage-slaves, fairly well fed and housed, but without any direct personal control over the means of production and without any real security in the positions they hold.

"So long as the desire for profit makes their services worth while to their employers, they will continue to work for wages. But once that desire for profit is thwarted, their work ends; they join the ranks of the unemployed and stand disconsolate in the queues."—(December, 1938.)

6.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME.

(a) AUSTRALIA:

"When we attempt to examine the excessive concentration of income and property in a few hands in Australia, we are confronted with the initial difficulty of the lack of recent official statistics.

"Over half of the Australian wage-earners receive less than £250 a year; nearly 90 per cent. earn under £400. According to an estimate made in 1941 by Professor Wood, of the University of Melbourne, 70 per cent. of our population earn less than £300 a year. This 70 per cent., plus their dependents, account for 5,500,000 out of Australia's total population of 7,000,000.

"On the other hand, we find *less than 2 per cent.* of our income receivers secure more than £1000 a year, and Professor Wood estimates that this small section, comprising 45,000 members of our community, receive about £110,000,000 a year, or *approximately 10 per cent. of our national income.*

"From this survey it should be evident that there is an excessive concentration of income and property amongst a few individuals, in both New Zealand and Australia. If we are going to establish a stable economy and if we are going to obtain a new order based on justice, it will be necessary to prevent this unjust concentration.

"The best means of securing this end is by heavy direct taxation on large incomes."

(b) NEW ZEALAND:

"Maldistribution of income exists also to a great extent in New Zealand. The following table for the financial year 1937-38, extracted from the Official Year Book of New Zealand, affords some idea of the maldistribution of income in that country. The true position is even worse than this table represents, as taxation returns were not required from persons in receipt of less than £200.

Size of Assessable Income.	No. of Incomes.	P.C.	Aggregate Assessable Income.
Under £300	102,218	54.4	£24,283,259
£300 — 499	58,421	31.1	21,411,930
500 — 699	12,795	6.9	7,420,452
700 — 999	6,913	3.6	5,690,182
1000 — 4999	7,486	3.9	12,563,981
5000 and over	216	0.1	1,645,028
	<hr/> 188,049	<hr/> 100.0	<hr/> £73,014,832

"The first point to notice is that over half the incomes assessed are less than £300 a year. The average income for this section is approximately £240. About four-fifths of the assessments are returned by New Zealanders who earn less than £500 a year. The average income for this section of the community earning less than £500 is about £300 per year.

"At the other extremity we find that only 4 per cent. have an income of £1000 or more, but this 4 per cent. has an aggregate assessable income of over £14,000,000. The 7702 individuals who earn more than £1000 have an average income of £1840 a year, or £36 per week.

"Only two hundred and sixteen individuals have incomes exceeding £5000, but this section has an aggregate income of £1,645,028, which provides them with a yearly income of £8000 and a weekly income of £160. This small section of Maorilanders earn in one week two-thirds of the income acquired by over half the N.Z. population in one year."—(September, 1941.)

7.—PRIVATE OWNERSHIP—THREE OPINIONS.

(a) DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS.

(i) FATHER BEDE JARRETT, O.P.

One of the most important matters to be dealt with concerning property relates to the duties and obligations arising in connection with private ownership.

We reprint excerpts from authorities upon whom the "C.W." has relied:—

"In two sentences, Father Bede Jarrett has summarised the consensus of Catholic thought upon the social obligations of property:—

"1. Even at the risk of grave inconvenience to himself, a man is *obliged* to help another in his extreme need.

"2. A man is *obliged* to help another who, though not in extreme need, is yet in considerable distress, but not at the risk of grave inconvenience to himself."

"Underlying these two principles is the ancient Catholic rule that while a man has a right to such property and income as will enable him to provide for his family adequate food, clothing and shelter, he merely holds in trust for others his superfluous income and property.

"In a society of practising Christians, this superfluous property and income would readily be passed over to those in need.

"A man's state in life, his condition, should be determined not by the wealth he has, but by the socially useful work he does. Socially useful work embraces a man's service in office, workshop, factory, etc., and—this is important—his community service as a parent, citizen, priest or teacher."—(July, 1936.)

(ii) FATHER P. COFFEY, Ph.D.

The Catholic Church has often been accused of favouring Capitalism. The following article, taken from the works of Rev. Dr. Coffey, an eminent Catholic theologian, shows conclusively the falsity of this allegation:—

"How far do the individual owner's strict natural rights of private ownership extend, to the exclusion of all right of interference by the State? The natural law gives every individual a right to a reasonable opportunity of living by his industry from the fruits of the earth; and this implies, as the normal means to that end, the natural right to a fair opportunity of obtaining exclusive private ownership of some productive wealth. The natural law dictates some reasonable division of the productive wealth of the earth (land and nature's other resources) among men as necessary for the continued subsistence and progress of mankind on earth.

"But the natural law itself makes no actual division. The abstract right which it dictates and sanctions is translated into concrete individual rights of ownership of this or that particular field or piece of capital by one or other of a series of particular historical acts or occurrences known as 'titles of ownership.' Some of these are capable of validly conferring individual ownership, up to a certain point, by the natural law itself, and independently of all State authority. But the natural law itself does not authorise the individual in society to acquire, by such 'natural' title, ownership of more productive wealth than is reasonably necessary for yielding through his individual industry a decent human livelihood; which includes, of course, the means to marry, support and educate a family and reasonably develop all his human faculties—physical, mental, moral and religious.

"And, furthermore, the validity of any such natural title, its moral efficacy in conferring ownership of that amount of productive wealth, is justified in ultimate analysis by its natural necessity for society, as well as for the individual—i.e., by the undeniable fact that the system of private ownership to this extent is necessary for general human welfare. The social authority of the State is, therefore, bound not to interfere with, but to respect and sanction, the operation and effects of every such 'natural' title to ownership.

"But if an individual has acquired a larger share of productive wealth than he needs for a decent human livelihood, while there are other citizens who own no productive wealth, his right to the surplus is valid only because and in so far as the social authority of the State has tacitly recognised the individual's natural right to some surplus wealth as being conducive to the common good. There are titles to ownership which derive their validity not from the natural law, but from positive State sanction.

"From which two things are obvious: First, that what justifies the State in sanctioning such titles to surplus private ownership (and the economic power accompanying it) is the common good of the whole community, for which the State is responsible; and, secondly,

that the ownership so accruing to the individual, so far from being an arbitrary power to 'do what he likes with his own,' may rather be conceived as a moral stewardship for the right exercise of which, in the interests of his fellow-citizens generally, the private proprietor is responsible to all of them collectively, or rather, to the State, which represents them—and, of course, to God, for Whom he is administering the stewardship.

"Now, the prevailing division of productive wealth, which has worked out actually from the play of economic forces and historical causes, in Australia, as in every other country, is very unequal indeed. But it must not be allowed to obscure this fundamental and incontrovertible principle: The natural right of every human individual that such a division of the world's productive wealth among private owners be made and maintained, as will afford every individual a reasonable opportunity of securing a decent human livelihood by his industry, is prior to, and more fundamental and sacred than, the right which any private owner can have to a larger share of productive wealth than he actually needs for the same decent human livelihood. He may actually possess a larger share; he may validly 'own' a larger share; but his 'ownership' of it, his right to control and use it, is subordinate to his fellow-man's right to live, and entails the duty (which the State can make him discharge, or get others to discharge if he refuses) of administering it for the good of the community. Therefore, the State, in virtue of its social authority, has the right and the duty of so defining, limiting, supervising and controlling acquired proprietary rights, that all the members of the community will have their fundamental natural right to reasonable access to the means of livelihood protected and made effective.

"These few principles, indicated all too briefly, will help us to appreciate the nature and grounds and lawful extent of State interference with existing proprietary 'rights.' The economic trouble with the world is not that there is a division of the world's productive wealth among private individuals (as socialists maintain), nor is it that the division is unequal, but it is that large private capital ownership has been allowed an economic power over the masses, which it has wrongfully and tyrannically exercised to the detriment of society generally."

—Father P. Coffey, Ph.D., in "Property for the People."

(b) BASIS OF OWNERSHIP.

—By Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Ph.D.

"One of the keynotes of modern industry is the divorce of ownership from control. The economist merely notes this divorce and states its economic implications. The Catholic sociologist contrasts modern notions of property with the correct ones and seeks remedies for the present unjust social system.

"The late Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Ph.D., outlines the correct basis for property in the following sentences: 'The general basis for

the institution of private ownership is the capacity and need of man as a human being. The aptitudes and capacities of man as a self-determining individual are best exercised by means of the individual ownership of goods.'

"Unless man can determine for himself, within the moral law, how he is to exercise his abilities and can choose for himself how he is to develop them, he has no freedom of personality at all. And if he cannot call his own those things that he has produced by his own labour and that he needs for the support of his life, for his development, and for providing against future insecurity, he must needs lose all sense of self-reliance and respect. For rational man it is a practical denial of the minimum freedom of self-determination that he needs to retain his self-respect."

"From this principle Dom Michel deduces that 'if any system of private property arrives at a point where property is concentrated in the hands of a few, while a majority or even a large number of people own nothing, then that system defeats the very principle on which it is ultimately based and by which it must be finally justified or condemned.'

"He then remarks that there are different levels of rights from which he reasons that 'the right to existence and human dignity is higher than the mere property right of any man. Hence the right to ownership is subordinate to the right to existence and human personality.' 'Hence,' he writes, 'there can be no absolute right of ownership in the individualistic sense of excluding superfluous goods from serving the needs of persons in want.'

"And he contends 'that force may have to be used to change a system of private ownership that has come to work against the fundamental principle.'

"Now what is the condition of property in our modern social system? First of all, the mass of people own nothing. They are propertyless wage slaves. Secondly, few people who do own property, own property in the Catholic sense of that word. A hundred shares in any large corporation are not likely to develop man as a self-determining individual. The owners of modern industry, the shareholders, have little or no say in its control. That is exercised by its directors.

"So a condition is arrived at which Pope Pius XI. described, 'it is patent that in our days not alone is wealth accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination is concentrated in the hands of a few.'—(April, 1941.)

8.—THE NEED FOR ACTION.

"There is no insuperable economic difficulty to prevent the restoration of property. Where the business or enterprise admits of individual ownership, individual ownership, as in the case of the small shop, farm or factory, must be encouraged and extended. Where the enterprise calls for division of labour and numerous workers, as in the large engineering workshops, the chain-store or

the sheep station, all the workers engaged in it must co-operatively own it.

"In both cases, the setting up of guilds or vocational groups will enable worker-owners to plan economic activity, ensure and maintain widespread workers' ownership and the coincidence of political liberty and economic security.

"But it is idle to introduce the guild system unless property is first well distributed. It is idle to cherish the hope that the mere setting up of a guild in a given industry will overcome the deep-rooted social antagonism arising from wage-slavery and the concentration of property in the hands of a few. To be really effective, the guild must be based on individual or co-operative workers' ownership.

"The amount of productive property in the community is limited. Any action taken to enable workers to become owners will inevitably mean that existing owners will in the long run be forced to surrender much of that which they own to the propertyless workers whom they employ.

"What is a matter of real concern is that all Catholics should quickly realise that to maintain the existing wage-system without modification is to court red revolution, and that to restore property to dispossessed workers is to found in fact economic democracy and establish on the only secure basis the co-operative commonwealth."
—(December, 1938.)

CHAPTER III.

The Decline of the Family

1. *WAR ON THE FAMILY.*
2. *A NATION IS DYING.*
3. *THE LOST DIVISIONS.*
4. *THE FIGHT FOR ENDOWMENT.*
5. *MARRIAGE LOANS.*
6. *CONTRACEPTION.*
7. *EDUCATION FOR MARRIAGE.*
8. *DEPOPULATION.*
9. *BUREAUCRACY AND THE FAMILY.*

1.—*WAR ON THE FAMILY.*

"Throughout the ages there have been numerous men who have attacked the institution of the Family—the central stabilising factor in the whole of Christian civilisation—but it seems that the full barrage has not been levelled against it until our own age. As Catholics we maintain that the Family is not only a natural institution, ultimately incapable of destruction, but that any attempt to destroy it must involve enormous suffering to humanity and dehumanise the individuals who are forced to undergo the experiment. The attack is not confined to one party or organisation. It is an attack, the basis of which is the modern mind, the modern attitude towards life, a view which binds together the philosophies of Liberals, Nazis, Communists, in relentless warfare on Catholicism. The Church again will conquer, because to the whole problem of sex it can present a reply, while for the diseased attitude of a decadent world, it can supply a remedy."—(February 6th, 1937.)

2.—*A NATION IS DYING.*

Long ago, in 1936, we wrote that Australia's future depended on the successful fight for the family. This is what was said:—

"Have you ever seen a man die—the colour fades from ashen face, the hands relax upon the sheets, and the soul goes out from the frail tenement to God? You may not have seen a man die; but if you look about the grandstands when Bradman is playing, if you see the thousands shouting, hoarse with excitement, at any Australian football match you will see a fair sample of a NATION

[NOTE.—In this book, "Birth Control" is used in the sense of "birth prevention."]

THAT IS DYING. It is not a slow death, this demise of the Australian people, it is rather an execution. For, as with a blow from a fantastic sword, the practice of birth-control is actually killing off a nation. Within twenty years we will see an alarming decrease in the actual number of our Australian people:

"The birth-control rot first spread among the wealthy—among women of the upper ten who wanted to keep a 'nice' figure for the next vice-regal ball. Insidiously, it spread downwards and outwards; with liberal and similar ideas, until the workers in droves, like dumb sheep, deserted Christ, our God, for Marie Stopes. She piped the tune: Australia pays. The individuals, the families and the nations that practice artificial birth-control are dying out. Australia, youngest of the world's nations, is at this moment breathing her last; for the pagan spirit spells DEATH. It is of the tomb.

"To keep our population stationary, the average Australian family should contain four children. It contains to-day just a fraction over two. In 1881, every 1000 married women in Australia mothered 320 little Australians into the world; in 1911, only 236; and in 1933, only 196! In 1872 the Victorian birth rate was 36 per thousand citizens. After 54 years of Godless State education, it has fallen—collapsed would be the better word—to the appallingly low figure of 15 per thousand. Meanwhile in the yellow islands off the coast of China, in the land of the Rising Sun—Japan—the birth rate is 31 per thousand. Not a very high birth rate, not as high as was Victoria's fifty years ago, but still high enough to bring into the world each year over a million souls! Imagine a people, fertile and vigorous, giving birth to a city of a million people, a city the size of Melbourne, every year!

"If these facts are correct, you may well be disposed to enquire how it is that in recent years Australia's population has increased. Our population has increased only because our doctors have enabled us to live longer. Our Victorian death rate per thousand has fallen from 18.44 in 1860, to 10.18 in 1934. Australians are well on the way to becoming a race of childless old men in their dotage, vainly trying to defend an empty land!

"Between 1911 and 1921 the number of Australian children under 10 years increased by 217,085 persons. Between 1921 and 1933—a longer period—the number of children in the same age-group increased by only 381. This very year their number will decrease. Truly, birth-controllers—baby preventers—are murdering a nation.

"In 1871, 42 per cent. of our population was under 15 years of age; to-day only 27 per cent. of our population is under the age of 15. Once we were, as Anzacs, a young and virile race, the pride of the earth. To-day, childless and decrepit, we are doomed to death, unless—

"The real cause is moral. Instead of assuming the life-giving responsibilities of even a moderately-sized four-child family, Aus-

tralian preference for flabbiness, radios, second-hand cars, flash furniture and Pekinese, to children. Because Australians are pagan, they have begun to hate life and refuse to bring children into it.

"With an increasing population, all our vast pioneering capital expenditure, the cost of our roads, our railways and our vast Government and private undertakings, would have been spread over a large number of people. The *per capita* cost would have become less. As our children grow fewer in number and our people older in years, the *per capita* national debt (at present £185) will become greater. We shall have a nation of sterile old-age pensioners, with no young people to earn the pensions, trying to pay the cost of government. Artificial birth-control is economically a blunder and morally a crime."—(*April, 1936.*)

Here in figures is the story of an ageing population and a dying nation:—

Actual Australian Rates (per 1000).

Year.	Birth.	Death.	Natural Increase.
1891	34.5	14.8	19.7
1901	27.2	12.2	15.0
1911	27.2	10.7	16.5
1921	24.9	9.9	15.0
1931	18.2	8.7	9.5
1937	17.4	9.4	8.0

AUSTRALIA'S AGEING POPULATION

	1881	1891	1901	1921	1931
Average Age %	24.1	24.5	25.9	28.3	30.1
Population under 21 .. %	51.9	48.7	47.1	41.9	39.6
Population 65 and over %	2.5	2.9	4.0	4.4	6.0

—(*November, 1939.*)

3.—THE LOST DIVISIONS.

"On the 24th March, 1938, the Federal Government initiated a three-years' defence plan, which since the outbreak of war has undergone an abrupt and sudden transition. For, while Australia can turn to and make aeroplanes, howitzers and field artillery, Australia cannot produce overnight an immense army.

"It may take twelve months to bring into full production a factory for the manufacture of Bren guns. It takes at least 21 years to breed and train a soldier for home defence. It is impossible to make an army out of childless married couples. Only young men make an army.

"When the three-years' programme was initiated, Australia's population was a bare six and three-quarter millions of souls. Of that total, there were some 1,926,000 men between the ages of 18 and 60 who could be called on to bear arms under the Defence Act.

"Only 950,000 of these were within the age-group best suited to military service—18 to 35. And of these not less than 620,000 were estimated to be unmarried or widowers without children!

"If the records of the various State Education Departments are consulted, it is abundantly clear that there are tens and tens of thousands of children missing from Australian schools. The missing children are not truants: they were not born at all. Year by year the school population grows less and less. Fewer teachers are required. The birth-controllers have destroyed their jobs.

"The number of young children has declined as the number of old-age pensioners has increased.

"Between 1925 and 1930 the number of children in New South Wales increased by 19,000 to 335,000.

"Between 1935 and 1944, the estimated decrease in one age-group for New South Wales alone amounts to 50,000.

"By 1949, there will be no more than 255,000 children in that age group in New South Wales.

"If the average birth-rate for the period 1911-1921 had not fallen to the extent it did fall after the latter year, there would have been 360,000 more children in Australia at the time of the last census. 180,000 boys and 180,000 girls were missing.

"On the assumption that 20,000 young men constitute the strength of an Australian Army Division, it is indisputable that, owing to the practice of birth-control and the failure of Australians to marry young, Australia lost between the years 1922 and 1933, **NINE WHOLE ARMY DIVISIONS.**

"In other words, **THREE WHOLE ARMY CORPS DISAPPEARED. AUSTRALIA ACTUALLY LOST AN ARMY.**

An invading army could hardly have destroyed by bomb and shell as many lives as birth-controlling chemists prevented coming into existence during those short years.

"No one can say with certainty that Australia will not have to fight for existence in the Pacific in the next twenty years. Australia may have to fight for her very existence. If that awful calamity should come upon us, it is no good our boasting that old men can make guns for us in hygienic factories. Australia needs men and guns. Australia needs especially men, sons to defend her at home, about her seas or abroad, sons who will be fathers to their people.

"In order that Australia may one day be a great Christian nation, proud, just and self-reliant, it is clear that, as a War and Defence measure of first-rate importance, Australians should urge their respective Governments to inaugurate on a national basis without delay a vast scheme of ample and generous marriage-loans and family endowment.

"The Church will affirm, as she has affirmed, the nature and purpose of marriage.

"The Government must remove, as it has not removed, from the shoulders of married men, and those wanting to marry, the pressing economic burdens that imperil a fruitful family life. And it must act, relentlessly and ruthlessly, in curbing the immoral, unpatriotic, and un-Australian exploitation of sex and lust by certain chemists and newspapers.

"For Australia, at the crossroads of the century, has need of sons."—(June, 1940.)

4.—THE FIGHT FOR ENDOWMENT.

Within twenty-one months Australia was fighting for her existence. In the meantime, the Government had been induced to institute family endowment. For years the "C.W." had fought for this major modification of the wage-system.

"As it is quite impracticable to differentiate between the wages paid to married and single men, it follows that the family man can receive justice only if his wages are directly supplemented by the State. The family man must be paid an allowance over and above his wages.

"If action is not taken to provide justice for married men with dependent children, citizens who refuse to practice birth-control will find themselves increasingly subject to a cruel form of economic persecution."—(August, 1936.)

Later, Child Endowment became a Commonwealth issue:—

"The campaign for child endowment, initiated by the 'C.W.,' has found general support among all members of the community.

"Over the last month no fewer than six independent sources have endorsed the demand for family allowances. More and more people are asking why the Commonwealth Government is paying no attention to what the people want.

"The 'C.W.' has pointed out that a worthwhile scheme of child endowment, on a Commonwealth scale, could be financed easily on £6,000,000. It is now impossible for the Commonwealth Government to claim, as has been claimed in the past, that Australia cannot afford the scheme.

"To-day there are literally millions flying around in the air.

"In 1939, our 'war effort' was to cost us £59,000,000. In the coming year it is to be over £100,000,000. Presumably it will keep on rising. Our plans for the expansion of the air arm are to cost us a minimum of £50,000,000.

"How can any politician then claim in conscience that we cannot afford a paltry £6,000,000 to finance a measure ultimately far more essential than all our war preparations.—(January, 1940.)

"The announcement that the Commonwealth Government proposes to introduce a Federal Scheme of Family Endowment is one of the most welcome political surprises of recent years.

"The 'C.W.' cherishes the hope that the figure of 5/- per week per child will not be accepted as an immutable figure. We consider that any figure under 10/- per week is inadequate for a child."—*(February, 1941.)*

5.—MARRIAGE LOANS.

"We now have a Government which has complete power over all Australians and Australian resources. We have thousands of young men who desire to marry but can't. They can't because they haven't the cash.

"Then let the Government adopt a marriage loan scheme. Let it lend £100 to all married couples, repayable without interest by instalments, the debt to be automatically discharged after the birth of the third child.

"We have seen how the Government can raise money to implement its defence policy, to cope with a crisis. The birth-rate is an element in defence policy, and as it stands at the moment it constitutes a national crisis."—*(August, 1940.)*

6.—CONTRACEPTION.

"In Christian marriage the sex relationship has received a new and wondrous dignity in that Christ has raised the marriage contract to a Sacrament.

"Christians as members of the Body of Christ through Baptism, when they contract marriage, are themselves the ministers of the Sacrament.

"Birth-control degrades sex to a level below that of animals, because it prevents the natural results of animal functions. Can we afford to insult Christ? Can we safely behave in an unnatural fashion? We cannot.

"The whole of society suffers and the whole of man, body and soul, is ruined. The family disappears. The nation dies.

"For the moment, ignore the grave sinfulness of this practice. Forget even the increase of unhappy marriages, the rising of divorce figures, the enslavement of men and women to their passions, the increase in nervous ailments, growing insanity and suicide. Leave these results of birth-control out of the argument. Without even dealing with the influence of contraception upon sterility, let us examine the effect on the nation.

"Two factors abet birth-control—material want and paganism. Both have been given a free hand. Since 1872 godless education and starvation wages have lowered the birth-rate from 36 to 15 per thousand. The population has not yet dropped because the death-rate is very low. The aged are becoming a heavy burden on a dwindling community.

"The Massacre of the Innocents is a national peril demanding patriotic action. We must agitate for Family Endowment, for the Family Wage, for immigrants of the fertile peasant type to work our lands and fill them with children. Above all, we need religion

in schools again; for until education is based upon religion, men will not realise the true meaning of life."—(*February, 1937.*)

"The great evil of contraception has made Australia's future uncertain.

"Small and unscrupulous bodies of manufacturers and retailers have been living like leeches or vampires by draining away the life-blood of the nation. The bulk of their customers should be pitied rather than blamed, for they have little or no moral and religious training.

"Spiritually starved and morally atrophied by a secular education and a pagan environment, their ruin is completed by those who supply easy methods of sterile gratification. Now at last, when our national existence is threatened, we see clearly that it is an illusion to believe that we can make fornication safe for democracy.

"Statistics show that abortions have increased as contraceptives have become widely used. There is a 50% uncertainty with these devices, and those who have failed to avert conception will be tempted to prevent birth. Nor do contraceptives find justification as prophylactics.

"The amount of venereal disease at any time is always proportional to the amount of laxity and promiscuity, and promiscuity in turn is increased as contraceptives become popular. Their issue during the First Great War did not prevent at least 1 in every 11 Australian soldiers contracting disease.

"In spite of these obvious facts, the Government announces that soldiers will still be issued with contraceptives. The Catholic Bishops of Australia have protested on moral grounds and eminent medical authorities, like Dr. J. Cooper Booth, Director of the Social Hygiene Division of N.S.W. Health Department, have condemned the practice, but it continues without justification or excuse.

"The use of contraceptives has already endangered Australia in this war. If their manufacture and use are not abolished, then Australia has no future."—(*October, 1942.*)

7.—EDUCATION FOR MARRIAGE.

"The easiest mistake to make about the whole problem of sex in all its aspects is to think that it is simple; and this is the most common mistake at the present time. Thus we have those who think with sublime optimism that if sex education were introduced into schools the evils in our midst would disappear. These advocates Pope Pius XI. has condemned in no uncertain manner. They err 'in refusing to recognise the inborn weakness of human nature,' and also in ignoring the fact that 'evil practices are the effect not so much of ignorance of intellect as of weakness of will exposed to dangerous occasions' (Pope Pius XI., 'Christian Education of Youth'). It is surely obvious that it is impossible for a teacher with a class of thirty or forty children of different ages, different families, from different environments and at different stages of development to

sadequately deal with the delicate subject of sex. It is not fair to the teacher to have such a responsibility, and it is not fair to the pupils, for one or two with unhealthy minds may easily corrupt the whole class.

"On the other hand, as one Catholic priest writing on this matter puts it—"the policy of silence has failed."

"That is the very common policy of parents of making no provision at all for instruction on sex for their children. It is fondly imagined that the children will pick up the required knowledge automatically as they go through life. The prevailing immorality is a testimony to the fact that the *laissez faire* attitude simply means that children cultivate dirty minds on the subject because their introduction to it is by means of filthy talk.

"Now, sex, as it comes from God, is a good thing in itself. It is the misuse or abuse of sex which is wrong because it is contrary to the law of God. Still, it is a very delicate matter, and upon the manner in which the child learns about it often depends whether his future life will be one of love or lust, for while the proper use of this powerful instinct within the bounds of matrimony and in a Christian manner is sacred, its misuse is not only sinful, but is responsible for the very many unsuccessful marriages which are a feature of modern life.

"There would seem to be no doubt that it is the duty of the parents to provide sex instruction to their children. As each child is different, he must be instructed in a different manner and at a different time from others. It is only the parent who can decide these questions. It is only the parent who knows the child, who can decide how much it is necessary to tell. It is most important that the child be told not only the physical facts of sex, but also the spiritual ones. Here more than anywhere else mere secular education is insufficient.

"There are many books written to help parents in these very serious questions, and they should be read and re-read. Only by parents doing their duty in this matter can the Faith hope to successfully resist the present onslaught of paganism. The good Catholic family is one of God's masterpieces, and it is this which, more than anything else, we are called upon to defend. Let us not be found wanting."—(*February, 1937.*)

8.—DEPOPULATION.

The menace of depopulation hangs over the whole of the British Empire:—

"Old fallacies die a lingering death. It still is a hard task to convince Australians that this country cannot henceforth look to Europe as the chief outlet for the huge surplus supplies of wool, butter, meat and fruit that we produce in good seasons.

"One of the chief reasons for the contraction of our European markets is the fact that, as a result of contraception, declining human fertility, the progress of irreligion and immorality and the absence

of social justice in the old lands, there are fewer mouths to feed, and therefore less reason for Europe's importing in normal times vast supplies of overseas food.

"The United States has a net reproduction rate of 961; France of 870; Germany of 890; England and Wales of 760; Australia of 958; and New Zealand of 970—in all these countries the population is decreasing, and markets are contracting."—(H. D. Henderson: "The Population Problem.")

"While the decline is world-wide, the gross fertility rate of Asiatic countries is considerably higher than for countries of white population. . . . Expanding markets in the future, especially for primary products, will be found only in Asiatic countries, where, however, both purchasing power per head and comparative prices are relatively low."—"Land Utilisation in Australia," at p. 341.)

"If the British population declines, then Australia has to face the fact that this country cannot expect to receive immigrants from England, and cannot expect England to take our exports. The plain truth of the matter is that in future Australia will have to look only to Australians if Australia is to be peopled by citizens of English stock.

"Before the outbreak of the present war, the population of England and Wales totalled 39,852,000, and the birth-rate per thousand was 15.1—lower than Australia's.

"As Francis Hunt also points out in an illuminating study in the 'Catholic Herald,' the number of English children under the age of 15 declined from 3,332,000 in 1921 to 2,800,000 in 1936, a decline of 15 per cent. During the same period the number of people in England and Wales over the age of 45 increased by 30 per cent.—from 9,624,000 in 1921, to 12,583,000 in 1936.

"If existing fertility rates remain constant, the number of people in England and Wales will fall within a long life-time (say, 75 years) to a mere 19,900,000. It is, however, optimistic to assume that these rates will be constant. If the drop in fertility rates continues at the same headlong downward pace that has marked its progress since the turn of the present century, then within the same period the population of England and Wales will fall to 4,500,000. From a military and an economic point of view, it is well to remember that, whatever happens, England and Wales within our own life-time will be largely peopled by childless and elderly married couples and bachelors unable to take part in war or in production. It would seem that Marie Stopes rather than Hitler is to blame for the appalling tragedy that threatens the future power of the British Empire: sterility set in before the present war. Even if the Empire and Australia triumph over German paganism, the sexual paganism of our own peoples will, by depriving Britain of man-power and Australia of potential allies and customers, take away from us the fruits of victory.

"It is not inappropriate at the present juncture to suggest to the politicians of Britain and Australia that the impending collapse

of imperial man-power is a factor to be taken into consideration not only in determining policy during the present war, but also in framing possible peace points and plans.

"In the sphere of parenthood, it is not possible for either England or Australia to cheat God and nature and remain great economic or military powers."—(*January, 1941.*)

9.—BUREAUCRACY AND THE FAMILY.

"Australia is faced with two problems of first-class magnitude. First of all, Australia has to repel the Japanese invader, whose bombers have already slaughtered Australian men and women on Australian soil. Secondly, while holding enemy at bay, Australia has to adopt an internal policy designed to make this country strong, self-reliant and independent.

"Australia can survive only if Australians are ready, generation after generation, to man our guns and defend our skies and seas. For the survival of Australia, Australians are the one indispensable and necessary element: the Australian family holds itself the secret of national survival or of national decay.

"To defeat the enemy thundering at our gates will avail nothing, if peace find the Australian family crippled, stunted and sterile.

"Yet, if the Commonwealth Government does nothing to check these bureaucrats who are bent on the absolute subordination of the family to the alleged necessities of war-time economic policy, there will be few young Australians in the next twenty or thirty years to complete the task of national defence to-day undertaken by our soldiers in the outposts of the continent.

"Already, the Victorian Women's Employment Bureau has set itself out to weaken Australian family life. On the high ground of national policy this body urged 'women in the home, married or unmarried, without children or with children, if they can get someone to look after them,' to enter war industries.

"Now, while there may be a case for asking childless women to enter the factories for the duration, there is at present no reason whatever for asking married women with children or married women who await the coming of children, to forsake their normal, natural and national function of motherhood, to hand their children over to strangers and to abandon their homes for the factory.

"Any person or group that seeks to increase the number of married women economically or industrially prevented from bringing young Australian babies into this under-populated land is guilty of an anti-social and anti-national act.

"Australia needs children. Australia needs mothers. Australia does not need, and should immediately dispense with, the services of those who fail to heed these vital truths.

"It is equally important that the mothers of young children should continue to look after them in their own homes. No kindergarten, creche or institution—not even a Christian orphanage—is an adequate substitute for a good home."—(*August, 1942.*)

CHAPTER IV.

The Plight of the Land

1. THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM.
2. RURAL JOURNEY.
3. DECENTRALISATION.
4. THE REASON FOR FAILURE.
5. AGRICULTURE AS INVESTMENT.
6. RETURN TO THE MIXED FARM.
7. THE LAND IN BONDAGE.
8. THE SHARE FARMER.
9. FARMER OR LABOURER?
10. THE SOLDIERS AND THE LAND.

Although the "C.W." was founded by men accustomed to an urban industrial civilisation, the paper has continuously fought for the reorganisation of the rural economy of Australia.

In the following articles the principles of reorganisation are discussed and illustrated:—

I.—THE AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM.

"The 'C.W.'s' fight is for the restoration of property to the dispossessed masses, so that the worker, who is to-day utterly dependent for his subsistence wage or dole on the few who control our national wealth, may achieve the freedom and dignity of personal ownership of the means of production necessary for his family. By a gradual process of economic strangulation, property has been concentrated in the hands of a few Capitalists. By wise legislation that process could be reversed. Instead, the forces of the State are being used to strengthen Big Business at the expense of the few small owners who remain.

"To begin restoring private property, we must first safeguard those remaining small owners. Of these, the farmer is the most important, because the farmer is almost the only individual left in our community owning the means of production.

"Although most of our people are crowded into the six capital cities, Australia is an agricultural nation, our national wealth comes ultimately from the land; but the man on the land is fast joining the forgotten class of unemployed. He is burdened with taxes, making no provision for poor seasons or falling prices. In most cases, the

first charge on his income is the mortgage interest. Over a number of years, big pastoral companies and trading banks have deliberately obtained a strangle-hold on the land, for which the farmer must now pay tribute. We continually protest against the sweating of farm workers, but we do not forget that this is often due to the crushing burden of interest which is driving our farmers to the wall.

"The farmer's insecurity is mainly due to the following factors:—

- "1. Dependence on the overseas market.
- "2. Over-specialised production.
- "3. Unjust prices.

"The Australian farmer generally produces in a specialised way, either wheat, wool, cattle, mutton, butter, eggs or sugar for the overseas market. He is in open competition with all the agricultural nations of the world. Often he buys land at an inflated value when prices are high, and with the inevitable fall, he is ruined. Australians must face the fact that prices overseas will never again reach the level of 1928, for the simple reason that we have lost most of our markets forever. Europe is wisely producing her own food once more, and the time has come when we must produce largely for ourselves alone.

"It is the duty of the Government to ensure justice to the farmer under these new conditions. A just local price must be fixed, so that the farmer will receive a reasonable return. This has already been done in several European countries. Wages must be increased so that city workers can pay this just price.

"Mixed farming must largely replace specialised production. At present, men produce wheat, which they don't eat, and buy their bread, butter, milk, groceries and meat elsewhere. They enjoy no independence, and when prices fall, may well watch their families starve, surrounded by many acres of waving corn. On the other hand, the man who OWNS his mixed farm can produce most of his family's food requirements in variety and abundance, and sell his surplus production for the luxuries of life. When times are bad, only the luxuries disappear.

"People often think of the farmer as a wealthy squatter, but the majority are small men, struggling for a small income from a contracting market. They must become independent of that market by producing first for themselves, then for the city.

"In the past, no civilisation or culture has ever developed from the city, and if Australia is to survive spiritually and economically, our people must populate our countryside. They must own their land. We could establish almost a limitless number of small, mixed farms, on which families could produce their requirements in an abundance and with a dignity unknown to our industrialised masses on the basic wage.

"But for this, two things are necessary. The first is that boys and girls who will spend their lives on a farm should receive an education to fit them for that life, instead of an education which fits them only for a profession in the city.

"The other requisite is that the Government should relieve the farmers of the crushing burden of interest which keeps them in a state of slavery."—(July, 1938.)

That sums up the whole approach to rural economy in peacetime.

2.—RURAL JOURNEY.

Before developing our theme, there must be retold the story of the Australian countryside, a story of one area, but repeated throughout the nation:—

"The train glided out of Spencer Street. Soon we were travelling over the sun-baked plains, stretching monotonously to the distant horizon; no trees, few signs of human habitation, a few sheep scattering before the shriek of the engine. By good fortune, I shared the carriage with a parish priest who had known in his youth the peasant farms of Ireland. For the past thirty-five years he has worked among the specialised farms of a prosperous district, where men invest in the land, on which to-day the hand of the speculator and usurer lies heavy.

"Lately his parish has been getting smaller. Men are leaving the land. Few farms are free of debt, and interest to banks and pastoral companies eats up twenty per cent. of their incomes. It remains a fixed liability while prices continue to fall.

"One such bankrupt farmer explained his position very clearly to the local doctor, who was explaining that he must have his appendix removed at a private hospital, as he owned a large farm and was ineligible for public hospital treatment. 'You're mistaken, doctor,' he said, 'I haven't got anything, the farm's got me.'

"The Soldier Settlement Scheme in these districts has been a tragic failure. After twenty years of hard work, most have drifted back to the cities. Not one in three remain. 'The men never had a chance,' said the priest. 'They were sold poor land at £23 an acre, and to-day it brings about £7. Those that remain are bankrupt with their mortgages.' A grateful nation's gift to her heroes!

"The 'Big Cockies' are still prosperous, however. Some of their holdings are enormous, and of the best land. 'One family alone holds forty thousand acres of the best land in the district. It has no title to that land,' said the priest, 'because fat bullocks and sheep are living on acres that could sustain whole families.' As in Cobbett's England, sheep are destroying men.

"There is an appalling waste of good land in Australia. We travelled many miles without seeing any signs of cultivation. Yet this district is peculiarly suitable for intensive cultivation and mixed farms.

"Where a few thousand acres as pasture keep one family in affluence, fifty or one hundred acres would produce the food requirements of a family. One such 'station,' if subdivided, would make twenty to thirty prosperous, self-contained farms.

"My destination was a town of about five hundred inhabitants. Like hundreds of other small country towns, it has been slowly dying for many years, strangled physically and spiritually by the metropolis. There was not a single local industry.

"Most of the houses were set in a wilderness, which could easily be turned into a cottage garden. The soil is good, because two homes, set in quarter acre blocks, were surrounded by vegetables of every kind. They were partly self-sufficient in food. The others were surrounded by mud, weeds and rubbish heaps. Many poor country families could do much to improve their position, without Government aid, simply by growing some of their own food.

"An employee of the State Rivers told me of his brother's home life. He had no chance to make a permanent home. A few months in one town and then he would be removed to another.

"'It wasn't always like this,' he said, with a certain pride, 'I was once a farmer.'

"From 1920 till 1931, he grew wheat in the Wimmera. And then the wheat market collapsed, all he had left was a few hundred acres of over-valued land, a team of horses and a mortgage. He managed to keep the last two 'assets.'

"The parish church and presbytery were substantial buildings, built when the parish was expanding. Now the congregation numbers about thirty. There has been one Catholic marriage in the church during the past six years. Whole Catholic families are dying out, the 'boys' and 'girls' now middle aged. Frequently father still pays pocket money and refuses to disgorge any land for his sons to settle down and rear a family.

"Six years ago, the parish priest began planning for a school and convent, but the number of children has declined year by year, and the need for a school has long since passed.

"As we talked in the presbytery garden, the great bell began to call the scattered few to Benediction. With awful prophecy it was dedicated forty years ago to St. John the Baptist. It is now in all reality a voice, calling over the wilderness.

"And until men acknowledge that the land is a way of life, a vocation and not an investment; until our farming ceases to be specialised and Capitalist; until we form a peasantry and regenerate our land spiritually and economically, John will continue to call over that spreading wilderness which might have been, and yet might become, a nation."—(April, 1941.)

3.—DECENTRALISATION.

"Speaking to a member of the 'C.W.' staff, an overseas visitor confessed himself impressed by three major facts in Australia—

firstly, the concentration of 47 per cent. of the population in the capital cities; secondly, the concentration of the majority of the people in the eastern half of the continent; and, thirdly, the extensive form of agriculture employed.

"Although maintaining only 36 per cent. of the population, Australian rural industries play a tremendous part in the national economy. For it is largely fluctuations in the prices of the primary products which determine the annual fluctuations in the national income. It was largely the fall in the prices of wool and wheat which caused our national income to decline from £650 millions in 1928 to £438 millions in 1931; and it was largely the rising overseas prices of these commodities which caused our national income to recover to £630 millions in 1936-37. Employing 650,000 breadwinners, it can be easily realised how any fluctuations in rural industries are quickly transmitted to the sensitive Australian economic system.

"Apart from our major products—wool and wheat—we have sugar growing in Queensland, fruit growing in almost every State, dairy and beef cattle, forestry, mining and fishing, all contributing their quota to our national income. But there exists an ominous drift from the country to the cities. And this has been aided greatly by the policies of the various Governments."—(*February, 1938.*)

On the land all men can be free. The continent could easily be transformed by decentralisation:—

"The truth will out. We may refuse to face facts for a time, but they end by imposing themselves on us—sometimes when it is too late to reform.

"There is growing uneasiness over Australia's social and industrial organisation. That uneasiness is shared by people who previously took the world as they found it, and foolishly hoped that all would be well.

"Fifty-six per cent. of the people of Victoria live in Melbourne.

"Thirteen per cent. are in three main provincial centres.

"That leaves only 31 per cent. of the people to occupy the rest of Victoria.

"What effect has such a distribution of population on the life of a State?

"The capital city acquires a false glory which takes attention away from the needs of the country. Money will be spent on a water supply system for Melbourne, because there is a large concentration of people there whose votes the Government is anxious to secure. Constructive work of more general benefit to the country is neglected, because the scattered country population does not exert as great a pull as the population of the capital city.

"One city has become the centre of production of secondary products and the centre of distribution for all products. Everyone in the State has therefore to know something of that one city. The country lad, who might resist the seeming attractions of several

competing towns of equal size, has his mind captivated by the octopus growth of Melbourne, which draws everything into its orbit. Hence the drift from the country to the city.

"Agriculture, which should be thought of as a way of life for the people occupied at it, is not so considered by that body of Victorians which influences opinion—the city population. In the mind of the city dweller agriculture is a means of providing food for suburban homes.

"When people are concentrated in large city groups, they are more subject to the forces of propaganda and less capable of independent thinking. The workers in such communities are threatened with starvation, caused by industrial crises over which they have no control. When such calamities occur they are able to bring some pressure to bear on the Government to provide for their subsistence, but only by a loss of personal freedom.

"On every section of the community city life has the effect of introducing a complicated standard of living. People are so thrown together that the luxury of one group soon becomes the necessity of another. You have to live up to the standard of what mass produced minds 'expect of you.'

"To arrest the drift of population to the city, decentralisation has been proposed. That is, what at present centres in Melbourne (and the same applies to the capitals of other States) should be spread over the whole of the State. All the clothing worn in Victoria would not then come from Melbourne. It would be made in provincial towns. The same would apply to other products of secondary industries. Municipal Governments have gone so far as to form a Decentralisation League.

"Those who travel in the country are no longer struck by the fact that they see everywhere the same products and the same advertisements. The fact has become commonplace. How can you develop local industries that will compete effectively with large concerns controlling a State-wide distribution? To do that there must be a fundamental change in our political thinking.

"We must cease imagining ideal conditions of economic freedom in which the best man and the best product always secure a market. We must cease thinking merely of production, distribution, and consumption—mere abstractions. If we want to develop lively rural communities, producing on the spot most of the goods that they use, we will need to protect industries in provincial centres by tariffs.

"Under such a scheme, Portland would be entitled to put a tax on the importation into its territory of those goods which are being made in Portland. Horsham people would eat biscuits made in Horsham, or be forced to pay luxury prices for others.

"This may mean that we will miss the variety offered by centralised products, but that would be offset by an improvement in quality where there was more opportunity for people to set up in business. For production for a provincial centre will not need as much capital as production for a State.

"Such a scheme of decentralisation could transform our State and break the capitalist nature of its economy. For a community producing its own food and most of its other requirements would be independent of economic crises in the rest of the State, provided that the markets of that community were protected by local tariffs."—(July, 1940.)

The policy which, four years previously, we had striven to effect, had, even by mid-war, not been accepted:—

"If the Mad Hatter got to work to set up the craziest country his fertile mind could conceive, he would be hard put to outdo the record established by this fair land.

"The population is coming to town—in a big way. They're leaving the rural areas high and dry and crowding into the cities.

"The implications of this are: that the land—the bedrock of our national life—is being left to die; that the birth-rate which was previously tottering will now begin to toboggan.

"The labour shortage in the country is too well known to need stating. It has two causes: enlistments and insecurity. The security of the city is too great a temptation and the insecurity of a land tenure is too difficult, especially for people who have done enough battling already.

"There is a constant demand for industrial workers in the city, notably in munition establishments. They get from 15/- or £1 upwards for seven hours' work a day. The farmer works 10-16 hours a day and never earns half as much.

"The farmers have been hit by the loss of export trade. While there are empty stomachs in our own country, they cannot harvest what they've got because the glut has made it a losing proposition to do so. Apples are rotting on the ground, wheat is unwanted, eggs and wine are unsaleable, too many lambs are frisking in the field—and no doubt will continue to frisk. There is no labour to tend all this. If it is harvested, retail prices are either too high to create a domestic consumption sufficient to ease the glut, or the wholesale price too low to make it worth the farmers' while to harvest it.

"Britain cannot take as much as was expected because she is losing her ships. Some of the food can be stored, most of it will rot. The farmer gives up and comes to town.

"The effect on family life of this mass congregation in the cities is best analysed by reference to some of the findings of the Victorian Select Committee on Child Endowment. They found that the population replacement—plus—increase rate was over three times as great in the country areas as in the city. They found that despite its huge population in proportion to the State total, Melbourne, because of its low birth-rate, was not even replacing itself.

"If Melbourne is to survive in the long run, it may do it by taking immigrants from the country. Then the country dies. The city probably dies in any case because industrialism, flats and picture shows are never aided by a babe's simple chatter.

"The same can be said in general of all the capital cities.

"Unless the land is made secure, it will perish. When the land perishes, Australia perishes."—(July, 1941.)

Even military necessity, which in this generation and the next will dominate our thoughts, impels a new conception of the nation. This we had already when the Pacific war came thundering upon us:—

"The new threat to our capital cities is opening people's minds to the danger of centralisation. The heavy industries of Australia are concentrated in a few areas, the transport systems radiate from the capital cities.

"We would feel much more secure if industries were spread over the country towns. If industries were distributed in that way there would be better transport systems between the country towns. It is doubtful whether the cost of goods would be increased at all, for at present we often waste time and money carting raw materials to Melbourne, Sydney, etc., and carting the manufactured product back to the country."—(January, 1942.)

4.—THE REASON FOR FAILURE.

In 1940 we wrote:—

"A few years ago this independent paper was almost alone in warning the Australian people that our economic system, based on the concentration of property in the hands of a few powerful combines, and dependent on overseas markets, must eventually lead to bankruptcy and widespread suffering.

"Our task has not been easy. Capitalism has reigned securely in English-speaking lands for over two centuries. Unlike Europe, Australia has never known a condition of widely distributed property, with free peasant farmers, independent craftsmen and small shop-keepers secured in their property by guilds and corporations. Australia has never tasted liberty. Yet it is our task to make men desire liberty.

"Australia was conceived as another investment for overseas Capital. Her people were to produce wheat and wool, food and ores for overseas markets, as tribute and usury on the surplus capital of London City. Consequently, Australia is utterly dependent on the fortunes of International finance.

"On 6th August, in the Federal Parliament, the Minister for Commerce delivered a statement on the condition of agriculture. It justifies all our prophecies of the past four years. It should have been featured, but was ignored by the daily press. It may be thus summed up: We have lost many markets for our primary produce, which we shall probably never recapture. England can take only bare necessities (mainly wool), because of restricted shipping space. After the war she will require much less wool.

"Despite its assurance of war-time disposal, the wool industry will face serious post-war problems, and there would be no justification for stimulation of production.

"We have lost important markets for meat and barley. The sugar market has contracted. The position of the wheat growers is already desperate.

"More than half of last year's crop will be unsold when the 1940 harvest begins."—(September, 1940.)

It was the war, and the war alone, that brought home to the community the whole danger of our position:—

"We had shown that under the present system of specialised production for overseas markets, our farmers and the nation are dependent on the crazy ups and downs of overseas capitalism.

"When prices were high, we lived well. When they fell, we lived poorly, and whole families went hungry in spite of bountiful harvests. We saw that prices would continue to fall, bringing starvation and misery and unemployment to our people.

"Nor was this the end of our dreadful prophecy. For we saw that the day was fast coming when the old world would not buy our produce at any price at all.

"We saw that our markets were contracting, as Europe, for political and sound economic reasons, was becoming self-supporting in food.

"And we knew that within a few years, our great export trade, by which we have lived, would collapse completely, leaving Australia bankrupt and even hungry.

"We knew that our forecast was accurate. We knew that history would vindicate our stand. And we knew that the time for reform was short.

"We hoped that Governments would scent the approaching storm and prepare before it was too late by encouraging the development of mixed, subsistence farms in the rich lands now given over to specialised production.

"To-day, those prophecies are no longer academic speculation. Within the past six months they have become historical facts, and the menace we outlined is even now upon us.

"Even at this late hour, we pray that our rulers will face the facts and 'cushion' the impending collapse by preparing now for a gradual change-over in our agricultural system from a capitalist to a subsistence basis.

"If there be still fools who deny what is patent for all to see, let them review the condition of our agriculture, with special emphasis on wheat and wool, which furnish 50 per cent. of the national income.

"Shortly after the outbreak of war, the Australian and British Governments arranged for the disposal of our wool clip for the duration of the war and one year later, on the following terms:—

"(1) Our *whole* exportable surplus is requisitioned and sold to England at 10½d. per pound.

—(2) England will resell to neutrals and share half the profits with us.

"Since that deal was made, sterling has fallen from 4.03 dollars to the pound, to 3.70 dollars, involving the Australian farmers in a net loss of £25,000,000.

"Actually, none of our wool will be resold to neutrals. So there will be no profits to share. And according to 'The Times,' 'Leeds and Bradford manufacturers, using Australian wool, are making extraordinary profits.' They are buying all our wool cheaply and reselling manufactured articles to neutrals.

"We have now lost our Japanese and neutral wool markets. They can't get our wool during the war, and will now use substitutes and buy elsewhere.

"According to Dr. Ross, of the International Wool Secretariat, 'The requirements of the British Army are of such a scale that wool production in Great Britain is at a higher level than ever before in her history; a definite shortage of crossbred wool is being experienced, consequently none is available to neutral countries.

"It is essential for Australia to stress continually that supplies must be kept up to neutrals in order that the markets of the world might be preserved in the future. . . . The war-time position has created a danger of increased use of substitutes."

"Already in England even, every woollen article must contain 10 per cent. of substitutes.

"At the end of the war, Britain and France will no longer require wool for the army.

"But we have lost all other markets!

"Therefore, if the war last five years, in six years' time we will be left with most of our wool on our hands!

"The wheat position is already hopeless, because Britain simply doesn't want it. We have already lost most of our wheat markets.

"Bankrupt wheat farmers are part of our national picture. In Western Australia, South Australia and in the Victorian Mallee, farms are being deserted because of ruinous prices.

"That, briefly, is the condition of our export trade.

"Even fools and knaves must see the implications.

"Now, two courses are open to us: We can go on drifting for maybe ten years to inevitable economic anarchy, or we can begin restoring property and change our agricultural system to a subsistence basis.

"If the first, we die!

"If the second, we shall certainly live!

"There are no other alternatives, and the choice must be made now. . . .

"Men usually are happy when history proves them right. We can enjoy no such happiness in this hour, because it is the fate of our people and our nation which is at stake.

"We happen to love both."—(*April, 1940.*)

5.—*AGRICULTURE AS INVESTMENT.*

In what looked like being the middle years of the war we re-stated the problem:—

"Some are inclined to consider that the wheat stabilisation plan has solved the problems of one bankrupt rural industry. Those who know of no other world but the centralised metropolitan liberal State, which flourished during the 19th century and collapsed during our own lifetime, can think of no other solution. But, in fact, that world has collapsed and no patching or palliatives or military triumphs can put it together again.

"Australia's national future depends on the recognition of this fact, and up to now our rulers are remaining wilfully blind to it.

"During the early days of our colonisation, capitalism had already made England great, and was the accepted way of life in most of the countries our newspapers call 'civilised' or 'progressive.'

"Now, the 19th century was an extraordinarily unsophisticated age. Learned men actually believed that the future would present a picture of uninterrupted expansion and 'progress'—in wealth, standard of living, population, taste and virtue. Everyone now sees the joke, because there has been a catastrophic decline in all these things, but our forefathers planned our national economy in conformity with their strange myths, which became the popular religion of the age.

"Our agriculture was developed on the understanding that our overseas markets were limitless and continually expanding. Hundreds of millions were invested in land on which were produced wheat, wool, meat, sugar, butter for the markets of England and Europe. Prices for these commodities rose, so land became inflated in value. Farmers mortgaged their farms to buy more land at inflated prices.

"This economic arrangement worked satisfactorily from the economic standpoint (it destroyed men and rotted the nation's spirit) whilst Europe remained solvent and could purchase our primary produce. But the inevitable happened about ten years ago. Europe was impoverished by generations of usury and an orgy of speculation in commodities and money. World prices for our produce fell below production costs. At the same time, markets were closed to us, as Europe, for economic reasons, strained to become self-sufficient in food.

"It is in the light of these facts that one should assess the value of the Government's plans for the wheat industry.

"It is certainly desirable that the farmers should be guaranteed a price which will keep them solvent. Apparently 3/10 per bushel f.o.b. will suffice for this. At the same time, it is unlikely that we will be able to sell 140 million bushels annually overseas.

"It is outrageous that the farmer should continue to pay interest to banks and pastoral companies out of money supplied by

the Government guarantee. Twenty per cent. of farmers' costs are absorbed by interest. This will mean that the taxpayer is contributing to the usurious tribute of the moneylenders.

"The present scheme is merely a palliative. It will not cure the disease. The problem is not solved by the Government paying people to grow wheat for which there will never be any market.

"If Australia is to live as a nation, agriculture must be reorganised to meet changed world conditions.

"At the end of the war tens of thousands will be searching for non-existent jobs. They could be settled on mixed farms, where, on fifty or a hundred acres of good land, they could produce food for their families and a surplus for selling in the towns with which to procure luxuries which they could not produce themselves.

"Men on such farms must be free of debt. They should be independent of the dying social order around us. They should achieve dignity and stability.

"At the end of the last war the Government settled returned soldiers on farms producing for export and loaded with debt. In many cases, after twenty years of hard work, those men are bankrupt. That criminal folly must not be repeated."—(December, 1940.)

One month before the war, we had examined in detail the problems of the wheat front, and to drive home the whole thesis of the chapter we quote it:—

"Radical reorganisation of the whole industry is essential. Interest burdens must be scrapped, wheat lands must be re-valued, many debts liquidated, and the basis of the industry changed from a capitalist to a farmer economy—from exploitation to distributism.

"The Royal Commission on wheat for 1934-5 made a valuable survey of the industry. It showed that there are 70,000 wheat farmers in Australia, 60,000 of whom depend mainly on wheat for their subsistence. These farmers are engaged in producing wheat for the overseas market—mainly for the United Kingdom.

"The cost of producing wheat varies greatly among the farmers. In 1934, 4 per cent. could produce at under 1/- a bushel, 50 per cent. could produce under 3/- a bushel, a further 25 per cent. under 3/10½, whilst 5 per cent. could not produce wheat at under 5/- a bushel.

"Analysing these costs, we find that interest burdens occupy a large part. The Royal Commission found that the wheat industry was indebted to various organisations to the extent of £150,000,000. Of this sum, £136,000,000 was owed to secured creditors—banks, pastoral companies, etc., who either have mortgages on the land or liens over the future crop as security.

"In many instances this indebtedness has been contracted through the purchase of land at inflated values. In Victoria, for example, much Wimmera property was acquired at ridiculous prices. The farmers entered into their commitments thinking that the reigning high wheat prices would continue. Well, they didn't.

"The first step, then, in the rehabilitation of the wheat industry is a revaluation of land and debts by some competent authority. When this is done, much of the £150,000,000 indebtedness will have been cancelled.

"The second problem we must tackle is the interest commitments of the wheat farmers. The Royal Commission on wheat decided that an average farmer could produce at 3/6 a bushel. The Commission then proceeded to analyse the cost. They found that 8d. and, in many instances, more of this 3/6, was used to pay interest.

"But the first claimants on the industry are the farmers themselves. Their right to a decent livelihood is prior to any other claim. In a recent article, J. L. Benvenisti emphasised this point: 'The first charge on any industry is a living wage. This is a just debt, which has a prior claim on all others.'

"The wheat farmer, then, has the first claim on the industry. If interest cannot be paid, it will have to be scrapped. The Royal Commission found that 'in many cases, interest payments are not being, and cannot be made.' Again, it is difficult to see what right the banks have to interest. They are secured creditors bludgeoning on the misfortunes of the farmers.

"So the second point in the rehabilitation of the industry is the lightening of interest burdens.

"Just how critical is the condition of the wheat-growers can be realised from the Royal Commission's findings.

"The credits of the industry with the banks have diminished and debts with the banks have increased rapidly over the last five years.'

"And again:

"Many farmers have been enabled to continue to work their farms by reason only of the assistance—usually unpaid—which has been rendered by members of their family.'

"The only true solution of the present problem lies in a gradual return to distributism—a return to small farms producing for their own needs rather than for the world market.

"The £9,000,000 needed to 'stabilise' the industry would be much better spent on transporting farmers from uneconomic areas like the Mallee and the outer wheat regions of Western Australia to good and reliable land. In Western Australia, such a scheme is operating. Many farmers on uneconomic land are being planted in the South-West regions, where they are producing for themselves rather than for the world markets.

"A changed system of agriculture is necessary. It will be a process covering years, but let us at least make a beginning with those farmers who obviously can't continue."—(September, 1939.)

6.—RETURN TO THE MIXED FARM.

The thesis, then, has been the return to mixed or subsistence farming:—

"Capitalist or Specialised farming is that system whereby men produce sheep, wool, butter, wheat, sugar, etc., which they sell to

brokers and eventually to overseas markets. The money received is used to pay interest on mortgage and to buy food for their families. When prices fall, the farmer suffers privations. When the markets disappear, he goes bankrupt, his family starves, and the pastoral company or bank takes over the farms. The city worker, dependent on the rural market, is thrown out of employment. The national economy collapses, and want stalks the land.

"That is the system of farming in Australia. It has brought Australia to bankruptcy.

"Subsistence or mixed farming is that system whereunder men own their land free of debt, and produce on it food, not for overseas markets, but for their families to eat. Fifty acres of good land will produce, by intensive cultivation, all the food requirements of a large family. The surplus produce is sold, at a just price, to local towns and cities, and with the proceeds the farmer buys manufactured articles and luxuries which he cannot produce himself.

"Some of the early pioneers brought up large families on mixed farms of this type. They lived in luxury compared with the modern city worker on the basic wage.

"It is a perfectly reasonable system, suited to mass needs. It dignifies men by making them owners, masters of their fate, independent of the ups and downs of Capitalism and independent of the mortgage company.

"Under such a system, literally millions of families could be settled in the rich lands of South-West Westralia; the Western District and Gippsland of Victoria, the coastal areas of N.S.W., Queensland and Tasmania.

"There would be no question of farming not paying. Agriculture is supposed to supply food, and if the farmer worked his land drought would be the only cause of distress; whereas at the present time many families lack the bare necessities of life in spite of bountiful harvests.

"Some 'progressive' people sneer at the idea of mixed farming. They say it means a simpler life, that people like living in cities, where luxuries and fun are 'turned on' cheaply. They point to the drift from the land, saying this is the age of big cities.

"These objections are not sound. It is no sacrifice for families living on £4 a week or less in a slum cottage, with undernourished children and the ever-present dread of unemployment, to leave that 'city luxury' for the secure life the land offers those who work it diligently.

"Furthermore, the alternative is quite literally starvation. Even those who dislike the idea at first, may prefer it to a permanent life on an ever-diminishing dole.

"People are leaving the land because the mortgagees are moving in. Farmers' sons come to the city because they can't buy land at present inflated values.

"It costs as much to make a boy a farmer as it does to make him a doctor under existing conditions.

"Our agricultural problems can be solved, if the Government awakens in time and disgorges some of its 'unlimited war chest.'

"During the past 10 years in Victoria, the Government has spent 30 millions on 'Unemployment Relief.' With this money, 15,000 families could have been settled on mixed farms, and we would have solved unemployment.

"The time for effective action has arrived, if Australia is to continue as a nation."—(*September, 1940.*)

"What we support on sociological grounds is gradually coming into its own on technical grounds. The expert is beginning to support our plan for technical reasons. Mixed farming is not only necessary for a healthy community life. It is necessary for the good of the soil. As usual, what is right from the human point of view is right from every point of view. . . .

"Dr. D'Arcy, of Melbourne, has been good enough to send us an account of a recent book, 'An Agricultural Testament,' by Sir Herbert Howard, former director of the Institute of Plant Industry, Indore, Central India. The point made by Sir Herbert Howard is that our modern capitalist agriculture ruins the soil. Specialised production of wheat, fruit or wool ruins the soil by starving it of humus and by erosion.

"The only way of recreating humus is by natural manure, vegetable and animal waste. In mixed farming such things are used. In specialised farming artificial manures are used, because they are easier handled and cut labour costs. So the soil is plundered. As our correspondent puts it, 'These mechanical and chemical agents merely transfer the soil's capital to current account.'

"The growth of parasites and diseases is traced by the author to the use of artificial manure.

"As at the end of the Roman Empire, we have 'a capitalist system of which the apparent interests are fundamentally opposed to sound agriculture.' The remedy is to sub-divide suitable land into mixed farms."—(*January, 1941.*)

7.—THE LAND IN BONDAGE.

"For many years the sad plight of agriculture has attracted the attention of successive Governments and all social thinkers. Probably 80 per cent. of our farmers are saddled with a mortgage which, in many instances, exceeds the real value of the property.

"According to the 1939-40 Victorian Taxation report, 8,682 farmers paid income tax, and there are approximately 72,000 farms in Victoria. Consequently, only 12 per cent. of our farmers are earning over £200 a year.

"What are the reasons for this universal indebtedness? Firstly, much land has been purchased at inflated values. Farmers and

speculators have forced up the price of the land in the belief that big prices would once again be paid for primary produce.

"Secondly, the prices for some of our primary products have fluctuated greatly from year to year. The farmer has never been sure of his income, and has often contracted debts which he later found it impossible to meet.

"Thirdly, the outlook of the farmer himself has sometimes contributed to his own indebtedness. His desire to have more land, or better machinery, or a better car than his neighbours, has led him to undertake heavy debts. And this desire was eagerly exploited by salesmen and aided by the time-payment system of financing.

"The remedies for this agricultural debt situation can only be obtained by striking at the very roots of the problem. A change in outlook on the farmer's part is needed. He must change from being a specialist in the production of one or two crops to a farmer diversifying his agriculture as far as it is possible. He should produce his own vegetables, butter, fruit and eggs.

"The problem of changing prices could be overcome by a just price being guaranteed to the farmer for his produce.

"Fixed prices should mean the reduction of land values to a fair level. Any inflation of these values would have to be controlled by responsible authorities.

"Finally, present debts would have to be reduced to a reasonable level. If a debt of £4000 exists on a property worth only £3000, the debt should be reduced to a reasonable figure, e.g., £2250.

"The bulk of the loss would be carried by the mortgagee as a risk incidental to the investment. Even if he seizes the property, he cannot hope to secure more than £3000.

"The present debt position in agriculture is a serious problem. Unless it is tackled resolutely, our primary industries will remain at the present impasse."—(May, 1942.)

"Australian land is hopelessly over-valued. The problem set is this: How is a dairy farmer or an orchardist owning land worth £20 an acre, and paying interest on £7 for every acre, to turn over to self-supporting, independent farming? How can such a scheme be thought of on the irrigation areas, where land reaches the fabulous value of £100 and more an acre?

"The burden of debt came upon the land in this fashion. When good prices were to be had overseas for our primary products, landowners often sold out at high prices. The incoming purchaser borrowed money to come in. Some landowners increased their holdings by borrowing to buy land. They are left with the debts, but the old high prices on which they were based are gone, never to return. Even if the creditors took over the land they would gain nothing, for overseas prices for primary products no longer make specialised farming pay.

"The land is still there. People are in need of it. They could live comfortably on mixed farms, largely independent of markets.

How are we to keep people on land and settle more on it, at the same time preserving some right to the creditors?

"It can be done if we realise that complete ownership is not necessary for subsistence farming. At any rate, a beginning could be made at farming independence without such ownership. So long as the farmer had a permanent tenancy without burdensome obligations to the owner all would be well.

"The solution in a concrete case would be this. A farmer on land at £30 per acre finds that he cannot make a living from dairying or fruit growing. He owes £10 on every acre and has to find interest on that money. When this debt was incurred the amount borrowed represented a third of the then value of the land. Very well, let him make over to his creditor a third of his land, less a proportion already paid for in exorbitant interest. On the balance of the land he can turn over to self-supporting farming. He may come down a bit in the world, but he will have a comfortable living.

"Now, we may safely say that in Australia to-day most land under specialised production is not being properly used to the advantage of the community. A survey could be made of land that is suitable for mixed farming, and which is not so used at present. The owners of such land should be forced to lease their surplus to tenants. These tenants would have permanent rights and would pay their rent in goods. That provision would protect them from the manoeuvres of high finance.

"As an alternative to this scheme of surrendering land and having it let out again, there is another scheme. Let all debts on land be assessed as a fraction of the production of the land, and make them payable in goods. Then the dairy farmer, hard pressed to sell dairy products and pay his interest, could turn over to mixed farming, giving a fraction of his varied products to the creditor.

"We need land settlement. There should be no poverty where there is land for all."—(April, 1941.)

"Rates of interest must be revised, particularly with regard to the amounts already paid in interest on old debts. Some farmers have already paid in interest more than the amount of the original capital loan.

"The position of mortgagor and mortgagee requires re-adjustment. It is unjust that all the risk of the transaction should be borne as at present by the mortgagor.

"Agricultural operations should be regarded in an entirely different category from ordinary commercial speculations."—(April, 1943.)

8.—THE SHARE-FARMER.

Here is a very relevant story from the Bankruptcy Court:—

"To attend an examination in the Bankruptcy Court is an experience which can move even one who has become hardened by

repeated examples of social injustice practised upon the workers of this country.

"It was the examination of a share-farmer who had filed his schedule. His story was probably typical of that of many of the farmers who have gone bankrupt through the combined influence of bad seasons and the pressure of mortgagees. He had purchased a farm from a neighbouring farmer who was pretty well off. Bad returns had made him fall behind in his payments. The agricultural moneylender promptly took a stock mortgage over all his sheep, and a crop lien over next season's crop.

"So that, in fact, you owned his body and soul,' remarked the examining barrister.

"The gentleman was offended. The fact that he had originally sold the land to the bankrupt for £7/10/- an acre, foreclosed at £3/10/-, and then given him the option to repurchase at £7/10/-, evidently did not strike him as being immoral.

"The worst feature of the whole case was the apathy of despair into which his bitter lot had thrown the bankrupt. Without excitement he told the court that for the past two years he and his wife and family had not lived; they had merely existed.

"Do you intend to pay your creditors?' asked the barrister.

"I haven't any hope of ever being able to pay anybody.'

"What are your plans for the future?'

"I don't know. I suppose we'll just go on.'

"Another farmer falls victim to the creeping paralysis of debt. And still no determined measure is taken by the Government to check the ruin of the people on whom the country depends. The lines of Goldsmith come to mind:

"But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroy'd can never be supply'd.'"—(June, 1937.)

9.—FARMER OR LABOURER?

"Very vital is the development of some plan whereby the present farm labourers will become farmers. This can be done in four ways:

"1. A farm labourers' wages board must be set up to regulate the rates of pay and the hours of work of rural workers. Much of the drift to the cities is caused by the low wages and long hours of work of rural workers.

"2. The knowledge of our Agricultural Departments must be placed at the disposal of the farm labourers. In other words, we must assist them to acquire a knowledge of the science of farming. They must be instructed in the best methods.

"3. Farm labourers must be encouraged to own their own farms. A reasonable wage will enable them to save money to buy a farm of their own. To assist them in this a scheme similar to the Credit

Foncier would enable advances to be made of up to 70 per cent. of the value of the land and thus enable the farm to be bought.

"4. The Government must make available the land for a scheme of closer settlement.

"Only by building a virile farming community can we hope for success in the future. One way to do this is to turn suitable farm labourers into farmers."—(*November, 1940.*)

10.—THE SOLDIERS AND THE LAND.

"As the war enters its third year many people are beginning to wonder what methods will be employed by our Governments to solve the problem of providing a livelihood for the men of the services upon their demobilisation.

"Their repatriation must not be given the stench of 'charity' that so many Government schemes have acquired.

"Recently the New South Wales Government proclaimed its intention of fostering a scheme of closer settlement for returned men, as one solution to the post-war problem of repatriation.

"This action is praiseworthy indeed, on the fact of it, as nothing could be more conducive for a man to settle down again than the ownership of property from which a reasonable livelihood can be obtained.

"It is very discouraging to learn now that the N.S.W. Government has selected the Western Division of the State on which to commence its closer settlement scheme. This is the worst land in the State, and the major portion of it has a very low carrying capacity for stock.

"Small sections of it can be used for cultivation, the rest being useful for grazing purposes only.

"A large holding there is essential if one is to make ends meet, and then it is only possible by taking the greatest advantage of the seasons and markets—a job which cannot, of course, be done unless one is an expert on that type of country.

"It is easy to see the outcome of any scheme to settle returned soldiers on the land in the Western Division.

"The State of New South Wales covers a large area, and includes some of the richest country in Australia. But over the years this rich land has fallen into the hands of a comparatively few wealthy squatters.

"The N.S.W. Government should devote itself to the problem of breaking up these large estates and making them available for soldier settlers.

"The policy of the banks in giving almost unlimited credit to the 'big' men and denying it to the small man, particularly in time of drought, has resulted in the small man having to relinquish his holding.

"Some check, then, must be placed on the credit policy of the banks—it is the duty of the Federal Government to see that all who are entitled to the use of this national facility are allowed to avail themselves of it. Unless the Government is prepared to do this scheme of closer settlement we are doomed.

"It is the Government's duty to enable ex-soldiers to commence training for their future careers the moment they arrive home. This should be done even at the risk of unpopularity with the returned men and the general public.

"Reports of the treatment of men already arriving back are not very encouraging, and unless a start is made this year with the implementation of definite plans for the absorption of returned men, it will be too late.

"It is certain that if preliminary arrangements—and they are many and costly—for training and drafting suitable men to suitable holdings are not well in hand and the scheme working smoothly by the time men are returning in numbers, we will see the heart-breaking drama of the aftermath of the last war enacted again.

"Now is the time to avoid such a repetition."—(December, 1941.)

ISLANDS OF SANITY.

"Summing up the conditions necessary for successful land settlement:—

- "1. The land should be suitable for mixed farming.
- "2. The farmer should have to rely as little as possible on the sale of his products.
- "3. The price of land should be prevented from inflating.
- "4. The settlement should be made in groups so that the groups can provide many of their own trades and manufactures.
- "5. The people of the district should have the right to protect its products by making laws to restrict imports into and exports from it.

"Such settlements can be made here and there in the country without radical changes in our economy. People are not willing to suffer the necessary reforms needed for a complete solution of our social problems. By settling people on the land in the way indicated above, we could plant islands of sanity in a crazy economy. Gradually the islands might become numerous enough to give their tone to the whole of Australia."—(November, 1940.)

"The problem of obtaining good land can be solved by the break-up of large estates and farms which are not being used to their fullest capacity. A great area of good country is tied up in the hands of owners who refuse to use it. *In Australia's interest, this must stop.*

"The scheme could be financed by extending the Credit Foncier system, with very low interest rates, while capital repayments would be spread over a long period. An extra inducement would be given

by granting a reduction of capital on the birth of each child."—
(March, 1941.)

And so we conclude with a vanishing figure:—

"YE WEARIE WAYFARER

OR

THE PASSING OF THE FARMER.

"Trudging on his lonely journey from a point North-West of Mooroopna, where his erstwhile farm was slowly falling into ruin, an anonymous farmer bound for a munitions annexe in Melbourne gave a thought to what was and those saddest of words what might have been.

"Experience has taught him that the self-sufficient agriculturalist has no place in a war-stricken community. For that matter, there did not seem to be much of a place for any sort of agriculturalist. It might be true that he was not faced with the awful alternative of Guns or Butter, but it was certain beyond doubt that there was a lot of money to be made in Guns and precious little in Butter.

"He brooded on his overseas markets. They had been built up in times of peace with a lack of foresight that did credit to the early worm. With the first whiff of grapeshot they had collapsed like a castle of dreams at dawn—which they were, anyway. He thought with chagrin of all the good fruit of his that went overseas in the past, but now if it got as far as the Indian Ocean it was blown up. Anyway, shipping space was urgently wanted for guns, more guns, and the wherewithal to make still more guns. He groaned aloud when he thought of the labour, so essential to his work, vegetating in a military camp or hibernating in a munitions annexe—to which in desperation he had finally condemned himself.

"Then, there were the bright boys who first started farming in the specialised capitalist way, just to ensure that everybody would go broke when the crash came. Farmers who were not concerned with growing a little bit of everything, but who got down to the big business way of doing things, and grew one thing, and one thing alone, hoping always to find a ready buyer. Which was all right as long as the ready buyer was available, and not cut off by mines, restrictions, lack of shipping space, and general inertia.

"He thought how easy it would be to get the young folk interested in his old way of life instead of them all wanting the bright lights of the city, temporarily dimmed though they may be. He thought of the extraordinary lack of training facilities for young farmers, as though farming was a pastime you picked up as you went along. Considering that the universities train brilliant students to be even more brilliant, albeit in a vague sort of way, practical farming was a thing that seemed to have little place in the greatest tract of underpopulated land in the world. There were, of course, places like 'Tardun' in W.A., 'Rupertswood' in Victoria, and 'Woodburn' in N.S.W., but they were only run by clerics.

"Then with an anguished sigh he thought of the interest on the overdraft, as yet unpaid and very likely unpayable because the farm had had a mortgage around its neck since before he first heard of things like mortgages and overdrafts.

"So the lonely farmer on his way from Mooroopna to Melbourne, the last of his class and craft, heaved an extra great sigh of despair and collapsed and died by the wayside. He was later found, taken to a taxidermist, stuffed, and presented to the National Museum, where he was encased in glass and labelled "Farmer—extinct; about 1941 A.D."—(*February, 1942.*)

CHAPTER V.

Rent, Interest, Profit, Wages

1. THE AUSTRALIAN INCOME STRUCTURE.
2. PROFIT AND INTEREST.
3. NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS.
4. THE BURDEN OF RENT.
5. PROFIT IN THE OLD ORDER.
6. THE FIXATION OF WAGES.
7. A THREE POINT PROGRAMME.

1.—AUSTRALIAN INCOME STRUCTURE.

Examining the money income structure of Australia, we find:

"If we take the figures of Dr. G. L. Wood, of the University of Melbourne, Australians in receipt of money incomes can be divided into three groups, the Rich, the Middle Class, and the Poor.

"The Rich Group numbers only 40,000 out of our total population of 7,000,000. The 40,000 plutocrats have one hundred thousand dependents. Together, the rich and their dependents receive about £110,000,000 a year. In other words, the Rich, constituting two per cent. of the population, receive more than ten per cent. of the national income.

"Of their share of the national income, the Government, up till the time of the recent callous budget, took a mere £30,000,000. The Rich invested, that is, put out money at usury, a further £60,000,000, and on their own needs and private luxuries they spent with gusto a paltry £20,000,000.

"Dr. Wood thinks that the Rich, the people with more than a thousand a year, could get along quite nicely if they restricted their investments to £25,000,000 a year and their private expenditure to £10,000,000 a year. We are inclined to agree.

"Dr. Wood, who has a due sense of the importance of the nation's needs, suggests that the Government should now take not less than £75,000,000 from the Rich. But this sum should long ago have been transferred not to the Government but to the poor.

"The Middle Group, comprising 650,000 persons, with some 1,600,000 dependents, receives a total income of £325,000,000. The lucky ones receive incomes ranging from £300 to £1000 a year. Embracing, roughly, one-third of the people, the Great Middle Class, including in its ranks tens of thousands of the better paid workers, who make their lives miserable trying to keep pace with the riotous expenditure of the Rich, receives approximately one-third of the national income.

"The rest of the community constitutes the poor. It embraces no less than 2,200,000 wage-earners, in receipt of under £300 a year. Upon them are dependent some 3,325,000 persons, the rent-racked, over-worked, sweated, unemployed, pensioned, sick, great labouring mass of the people.

"All told, the poor get £465,000,000, with which to pay taxation, direct and indirect, from which to put a few shillings by for a rainy day, and upon which to live and bring up families."—(December, 1940.)

2.—PROFIT AND INTEREST.

The following questions and answers on the above-mentioned topic came from the Right Reverend G. B. O'Toole, Ph.D., S.T.D., Professor of Philosophy at the Catholic University of America, Washington, U.S.A. Originally published in the American 'C.W.', this radical statement appeared in the Australian 'C.W.' in June, 1940.

"Question: How do you square the Church's traditional doctrine that money-breeding is a sin with Canon 1543 of the Codex of Canon Law, which says, 'But in the loan of a current thing (such as money) it is of itself not illicit to contract for the legal rate of gain, unless it is evidently immoderate'?"

"Answer: The moderate rate of gain allowed on loans by Canon 1543 is allowed on the score of banking SERVICES, and not on the score of money's PRODUCTIVITY, as is clear from the note to this Canon in the Codex, which refers us to Leo X.'s Bull, 'Inter multiplices' (in the V. Lateran Council), of May 4, 1515, allowing the 'Mounts of Piety' (charitable institution—Montes Pietatis) of that day to make a 'moderate charge' on loans 'over and above the principal,' in order to cover 'the expenses, etc., of their staffs' and those of 'maintenance.'

"Hence it is in the sense of a SERVICE-CHARGE that a moderate legal rate of interest is declared to be 'non per se illicitum—not by itself illicit'—Canon 1543.

"In short, this Canon simply applies to the problem of the financier's compensation the same solution that St. Thomas applies to the question of the merchant's compensation. There is a parallel here; for, if neither the merchant nor the financier contribute anything to production, both do render service in the non-productive sphere of COMMODITY-CIRCULATION, and it is on the basis of these SERVICES to DISTRIBUTION that both deserve to be compensated. Now, St. Thomas says of the merchant's profit-taking the same thing that Canon 1543 says of the financier's interest-taking.

"'Profit-taking,' he affirms, 'involves nothing vicious or contrary to virtue in its conception,' and therefore the merchant 'for the support of his family' may sell above cost at a 'moderate profit,' his profit-taking being warranted as a service-charge, that is, 'as salary for service' (quasi stipendium laboris). (S. Th., 2nda Endae, Q. LXXVII., a. 4). Hence, Canon 1543 does indeed warrant the taking of low rates of interest in the sense of a SERVICE-CHARGE to salary

the banker and pay his overhead (in return for his services to the community), but it does not justify compound interest, which steps up even a low rate of interest to the point of exploitation.

Question: What social evils result from money-breeding?

Answer: Speaking of ancient society, Plato says: 'These usurers, however, bent upon their own advantage, and seemingly obtuse even to that, by advancing money, wound all that yield to them, and so, by getting multiplied interest for the parent principal, fill the State with many a drone and pauper.' (Republic, K, VIII.)

'And, of our own day, Penty says that 'money-breeding leads to class and international warfare, or alternatively to a complete paralysis of the whole economic system, since, when centralisation of wealth proceeds beyond the point at which the rich can spend their share on consumption goods, demand is undermined, because effective demand depends upon a wide distribution of property and purchasing power, which money-breeding operates to destroy. And with the undermining of demand, there come into existence large and insoluble unemployment problems, as we, like the Romans, have found out. Other agencies have been at work to promote the same end. In Rome there was slavery, which displaced free labour; in the modern world there is machinery which achieves a similar displacement. But apart from them, money-breeding, by concentrating purchasing power in the hands of a few, can be relied upon to create unemployment. Shall we say that nations that take to money-breeding perish by money-breeding?' ('Tradition and Modernism in Politics'—A. I. Penty, at pp. 96-97.)

Question: If money-breeding is so great a social evil, why is the Church's opposition to it less effective to-day than in the Middle Ages?

Answer: For the reason that all modern States are SECULARISED civil societies, which have legislated religion and morals out of public life, relegating them to the privacy of the individual conscience. In the Middle Ages the Church influenced social affairs, and society no less than the individual was Christian; but Masonic Liberalism has changed all that—everywhere it has separated the State from the Church. It has taught human society to discard moral and religious qualms and to confine its aspirations to material goals. It has emancipated Greed to prey on Weakness. It has given us that pagan legislation of modern times, under which individual Christians can indeed live, but a truly Christian society is impossible.

THE WAY OUT.

Question: Is there no other way of enabling industrialists to hold out during slack seasons or of tiding farmers over periods of crop failure than the methods of interest-bearing loans?

Answer: Certainly. For one thing, our Federal and State Governments might undertake to do the service on a cost basis, just as the Federal Government does now in the case of the mails, our

national post office being a non-profit service. However, it might be dangerous to give the Federal or State Governments monopolistic control over credit. Hence this function should be given over in large measure to labour and farmer guilds, to consumers' co-operatives and employers' cartels. Such organisations should be encouraged to help their members by making interest-less loans, for which the same security should be demanded as is now required in the case of bankers' interest-bearing loans. But other than this, nothing should be required, except the reasonable service-charge of officials' salaries and overhead. There is no necessity for making money out of money; we must get over this idea!—(*June 1st, 1940.*)

3.—NATIONAL INDEBTEDNESS.

When the question of financing the war arose, these three methods of finance were suggested:—

- "1. Increased taxation.
- "2. The extension of credit.
- "3. Bank loans.

"All three methods have been used.

"With the first two measures we have no quarrel. With the third we are in violent disagreement. The Loan Council raised a loan of £10,000,000 from the trading and Commonwealth Banks. In return for this service, the banks demanded their blood money. Interest was charged at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

"To this interest the banks have not the slightest moral title. It is simple usury. The money is being used for expenditure which is quite unproductive. It will be blown up on the fields of battle. There is some legitimacy for the payment of a small charge to cover the working expenses of the banks.

"This weapon of interest is an expedient by which the banks tightened the stranglehold they have on the Australian people. This stranglehold is revealed to us in the national debt and national interest payments.

PUBLIC DEBT: COMMONWEALTH AND STATES.

"Year.	Public Debt.	Per Head.
"1900	£197,000,000	£53
"1905	231,000,000	58
"1910	259,000,000	59
"1915	383,000,000	77
"1920	781,000,000	146
"1925	968,000,000	163
"1930	1,106,000,000	171
"1937	1,263,000,000	185

"The interesting fact about the table is the enormous increase from 1915 onwards. During the five years, 1915-20, the national debt doubled. Whilst the enormous increase in the size of the debt

since 1920 has largely been due to the effect of the war, in 1938 the total war debt of Australia was still about £270,000,000.

"Of the total public debt in June, 1938,

"£686,000,000 was owed in Australia,

"£544,000,000 was owed in England.

"£45,000,000 was owed in New York.

"Even more interesting than the growth of the national debt is the increased interest payments we have to make.

"Interest, sinking fund and exchange charges on public debt of all States are as follows:—

"Year.	Interest, etc.	Per Head.
"1901	£8,000,000	£2
"1911	10,000,000	2/5/-
"1914	11,500,000	2/7/6
"1918	15,000,000	3/2/6
"1921	20,000,000	3/13/-
"1931	41,000,000	6/5/-
"1937	41,000,000	5/19/-

"If we include the Commonwealth, the interest charges amount to £45,000,000. Of this sum, half is payable in Australia and about one-half overseas. Here once again we notice the heavy increase in the interest burden, due mainly to the debts contracted during the Great War. Naturally, the interest burden is not immediately apparent in the years 1914-18.

"A third means of appreciating the tremendous burden imposed on us by the last war is by noting the manner in which the taxes increased.

"COMMONWEALTH TAXATION.

"Year.	Total.	Per Head.
"1913-14	£16,500,000	£3/7/6
"1914-15	16,900,000	3/7/6
"1915-16	23,500,000	4/15/-
"1916-17	24,500,000	5/-/-
"1917-18	24,600,000	5/-/-
"1918-19	32,400,000	6/7/6
"1919-20	41,000,000	7/15/-

"During these seven years the taxation burden per head of population more than doubled, and the tax collections actually increased about two and a half times.

"We cannot, and did not, pay for the last war. Some measures of liquidating the interest and debt burdens were disclosed.

"Firstly, we inflated prices a little. This meant that £1 in 1914 would buy more than £1 in 1920. Consequently, we did not pay our debtors the real value of the money they lent to us.

"Secondly, and particularly during the depression, we reduced the interest rates and suspended payment on our war debts to Britain.

"Thirdly, since 1927 we have simply borrowed money to repay interest on old debts or we contracted new debts to liquidate old ones.

"In other words, Australia is bankrupt. We are like a spend-thrift floating loans to repay old debts incurred.

"There is only one prospect of paying for this war. We can offer our overseas debtors payment in wool and wheat. If these are not acceptable we must repudiate.

"The right of every Australian to a decent livelihood comes before the right of international financiers to their usury. During the last depression, when repudiation was feared, the Bank of England sent two of their clique to advise us how to pay.

"We paid, and paid literally with the lives of our Australian workers.

"This time we will stand no dictatorship from financiers like Guggenheimer Gregory or Otto Niemeyer. Our motto must be: "Take our wool or wheat or we'll repudiate."—(December, 1939.)

4.—THE BURDEN OF RENT.

"The eviction of soldiers' families in 1940 from their homes recalls the frightful scandal of depression years, when workless were flung out on to the streets to fend for themselves.

"It rivets attention on the fact that to-day no less than forty per cent. of Australian families do not own their homes. Forty per cent. of the Australian people still have to pay rent. Forty per cent. of the Australian people have got to pay rent or get out of the houses they occupy.

"The payment of rent is to-day a sort of first charge on the worker's income. The wife of every working-class tenant has, on the average, to pay to the landlord five shillings out of every pound her husband earns.

"Only 42 per cent. of the people own their own homes. Only 42 per cent. of the people escape the horror of the rent-hook.

"Fourteen per cent. of the people are trying to buy their homes by rent-purchase systems. These people do not enjoy the security of home-ownership. Should a post-war depression come, they stand to lose everything.

"Despite all the rehousing schemes organised by building societies, Savings Banks and State Governments, the proportion of Australian workers who owned their own homes DID NOT INCREASE between the census of 1921 and that of 1933.

"As things are run at present, the capitalist system in Australia will not enable more tenants to become their own landlords.

"If property for the people means anything as a slogan, it means that the average family should at least have its own home.

"But the slogan means nothing to those in charge of slum-reclamation schemes, for these people are not really trying to make workers independent of landlords. All they propose to do, all that their schemes involve, amounts to this: the worker, instead of paying rent to a private landlord, will have to pay rent direct to the Government.

"The housing authorities (in Victoria, at any rate) borrow money from private investors for Government building schemes. They collect rent from the tenants of the Government and pay much of the rent over as interest to the people who, instead of investing money directly in house-property, invest in voluntary Government loans. The upshot of these great 'reforms' is simply that the position of the investor is made more secure. He may get less interest, but he has a better security.

"Instead of having an uncertain claim for rent over the income of the tenant, the investor gets a sort of first mortgage over the revenues of the State. So much for the present type of investment in Government loans.

"Yet such is the demand for housing accommodation that the great game of investing money in house-property is still played by the investing public. While workers are prepared to pay exorbitant rents, while citizens acquiesce in private control of investments, while Governments refuse to assume the responsibility, not merely of fixing rents on a just basis, but of conscripting capital for the purpose of erecting workers' homes, forty per cent. of Australian families will have to continue to pay rent.

"If tenants are ever to become home-owners, the Government will have to take control of all investment moneys and direct a large proportion of those moneys into the erection of low-cost homes. All rent payments will have to become rent-purchase payments.

"This revolutionary change will probably mean that investors, instead of getting ten to fifteen per cent. profit per year, in the shape of house-rents, will get only three or four per cent. profit, if that, in the shape of interest on compulsory loans to the Government for national re-housing purposes.

"In certain circumstances, it may even be necessary for the Government to deny the investing public (or a great part of it) any profit on such compulsory loans. In that event, interest repayable on such loans would in reality be simply a repayment of the capital compulsorily borrowed.

"One thing is certain: if the Government wishes to avoid revolution in the post-war period, it will have to lift from the shoulders of forty per cent. of the working-class the burden of paying rent to private landlords, and enable all workers to own their homes.

"Rent, at five shillings in the pound, is too great a burden, especially when it is not rent-purchase!

"People are waking up to the fact that, whereas the rent paid by the medieval serf to his landlord was in reality a form of taxation paid for public services, the rent paid by the tenant to his landlord to-day is simply a form of private tribute for which no corresponding public service is given by the landlord to the community."—(August, 1940.)

5.—PROFIT IN THE OLD ORDER.

To appreciate the position of profit of our industrial structure, let us examine for a moment the profits for the year 1938-39 of our leading companies:—

"B.H.P.	£1,400,000
Colonial Sugar	1,005,670
General Motors	850,976
Bank of New Zealand	585,941
National Bank	351,245
Aust. Consolidated Industries	324,512
Bank of Australasia	*310,049
Woolworths	271,693
Australian Gas Light	251,553
Burns, Philp	251,144
Union Bank	*244,683
Goodyear Tyre	243,251
Australian Iron and Steel	213,884
General Industries	169,004
Howard Smith	141,821
Carlton Brewery	136,500
Huddart, Parker	134,518
Goldsborough, Mort	117,727
Industrial Acceptance	115,620
Millar's Timber	*110,751
Anthony Hordern	107,695
National Bank of N.Z.	*106,524
Australian Cement	99,109"

* English Currency. [Aug., 1939.]

"Iron and steel are Australia's greatest industries. Without iron and steel, the factory system could not work. The employment and welfare of the vast mass of the Australian working class depend on those industries. And the iron industry is in the hands of the Iron Ring, which masquerades under the name of the Broken Hill Proprietary Limited.

"The capital of this monopoly is over £5,000,000.

"The main shareholders are these:—

"H. G. Darling, R. C. Meares, F. H. Mitchell, C. H. Hoskins, and J. G. McCann jointly hold 750,000 shares of the value of £1 each, fully paid up.

"H. G. Darling and Norman Darling together hold another 65,386 shares paid up to £1, and 32,693 shares which are paid up to 10/.

"C. B. Kellow owns 17,000 £1 shares. G. Syme owns 15,224. The late Sydney Myer owned 15,100. Phillip Russell has 12,000 in his name, and Essington Lewis 10,205.

"The list could be extended, but these are the main owners of B.H.P. Therefore they are the controllers of the whole of the Australian iron and steel industry, since this company has a controlling interest in every major iron and steel company in Australia. Whenever you read of Australia's national interests in connection with iron and steel, remember that it is the interests of these men—AND NOT OF AUSTRALIA—to which the Australian Press, which in turn, is owned by these same men, refers.

"That is simply one illustration of the way in which industrial monopoly has extended its octopus grip over the most important sector of national economy. It is only lack of space which prevents us from giving you further illustrations to prove that Australia is now in pawn to a few glorified money-lenders.

"These same men control the Banking Ring. These same men control the Colonial Sugar Refining Co., the wealthiest company in Australia, which has regularly made profits approaching £1,000,000 a year, by virtue of its monopoly of the Australian market, while it has reduced the vast mass of its workers to penury." (Feb., 1938.)

"One of the most prevalent and most obnoxious practices of many large Australian public companies is the issue of bonus shares. More commonly it is known as the 'watering' of capital.

"B.H.P., Colonial Sugar, Australian Consolidated Industries, John and Waygood, Swan Breweries, and many other companies have indulged in this practice with the effect of disguising profits and increasing the dominance of the large shareholders, who in many instances are also directors.

"'Watering' capital may best be understood by a simple example. If water is mixed with wine, it has the effect of increasing the amount of the liquid without altering the amount of wine. Similarly the effect of 'watering' capital is to increase the amount of the nominal capital without adding to the amount of capital which is paid for in money.

"The capital is 'watered' by issuing free or bonus shares to the existing shareholders. This can be done in any of three ways:—

- "(i) Undistributed profits.
- "(ii) Share premium reserve.
- "(iii) A revaluating of assets.

"Every progressive company retains about twenty-five per cent. of the profits it earns in the business. These are known as undistributed profits, and are usually invested in buildings and machines, but they remain as the item 'general reserve' on all balance sheets. In time a company may decide to issue bonus shares to existing shareholders equal to the amount of the undistributed profits. For example, if the undistributed profits are equal to £100,000, then the company may decide to issue 100,000 £1 shares to existing shareholders.

"The second means of issuing bonus shares is from the share premium reserve. A company may float a new issue of shares and charge 30/- for each £1 share. This means that there is a premium of 10/- on each share purchased. In this way a share premium reserve of £100,000 may be built up and then issued as bonus shares of £1 each to existing shareholders, which is quite a good racket for the original owners of the business.

"The third is by a revaluation of assets. The directors may decide that the assets of the business are worth more than they appear in the books of the company. For example, if they have been valued at £100,000 and the directors suddenly decide they are worth £200,000, the extra £100,000 may be issued to the shareholders as bonus shares.

"One of the most notorious issuers of bonus shares is Broken Hill Pty. Ltd. B.H.P. has a paid-up capital of £11,396,936. But this capital is composed of a large number of bonus shares. In February, 1890, a bonus issue of £64,000 was made; in March, 1919, a bonus issue of £900,000 was made; in the same month, a further bonus issue of £600,000 was made, and in January, 1940, £4,500,000 was given away as bonus shares.

"Consequently, £6,064,000 of the total capital of £11,396,936, is composed of bonus issues.

"Colonial Sugar provides an even better example of the 'watering' of capital. C.S.R. has adopted many expedients for benefiting shareholders, but 'straight-out' bonus issues have been made as follows:— 1907, £225,000; 1908, £350,000; 1910, £150,000; 1913, £250,000; 1924, £1,625,000; 1927, £975,000; 1934, £5,850,000.

"In all these 'straight-out' bonus issues account for £9,425,000 of the total paid-up capital of £11,700,000.

"In March, 1939, Australian Consolidated Industries made a bonus issue of £2,558,814.

"A bonus share issue has two main effects. Firstly, it has the effect of disguising the dividends paid. If profits of £10,000 are earned on £100,000 capital, then the rate of dividend is 10 per cent. But if a bonus issue of £100,000 is made and the same profit earned, the dividend is only 5 per cent.

"The second effect of a bonus issue is to unfairly benefit large shareholders. For if a bonus issue of one new share for five shares held is made, then a shareholder having 5000 shares receives 1000 shares, whereas a shareholder having five shares receives only one extra.

"'Watering' capital is a practice which should meet with strict condemnation. It increases the present maldistribution of property and disguises from the public the big dividend paid by many large monopolies. (January, 1941.)

"The decision of Australian Consolidated Industries Ltd. to issue bonus shares has concentrated public attention on still another racket run by big business in the administration of public companies. For

every four shares now held by the shareholders of the company, seven more will be added. So that an investor who held 400 shares would have 1100 after the issues had been made. That is High Finance carried to the extreme!

"Australian Consolidated Industries Ltd. was formerly Australian Glass Manufacturers Co. Ltd.—one of the strongest companies and one of our greatest monopolists.

"For the past three financial years Australian Glass has paid a neat dividend on ordinary shares of 15 per cent. One of the chief effects of such an issue will be to hide the true profits made by the company.

"The bonus issue will bring A.C.I.'s capital up to £3,664,292, of which £3,489,292 is ordinary and £175,000 preference. So that a dividend of 15 per cent. on the old capital will appear as a modest 4 per cent. on the new capital.

"Now the true benefit of such a bonus issue will be reaped mainly by large shareholders. The small shareholder will only acquire a small addition to the number of his shares: the large investor, on the other hand, will benefit enormously.

"For example, a man with four shares will possess eleven after the issue has been made: on the other hand, a man who owned 400 shares will own 1100. The issue, then, will accentuate the already unmoral maldistribution of property and income.

"But the real racket is evident when we learn that the bonus issue may not be liable for income tax. Whether the shares are or are not liable is a matter for the State legal and taxation authorities. But the fact that such a doubt could even exist appears to be monstrous.

"If ever spoils should be termed 'un-earned increment,' these should. And the taxation on them should be particularly heavy. If the shares are not liable, then it is the job of the Government to see that they are made liable; to see that the taxation levied on such bonus issues is particularly heavy.

"The whole question of 'watering' capital by companies should be made the subject of an exhaustive Government enquiry. Morally such practices are to be condemned most strongly.

"But the issue of bonus shares by A.C.I. is only typical of the actions of most big companies. After all, this issue only involves the conversion of £2,558,814. Colonial Sugar Refinery Co., controlled by some of our largest capitalists, made a record conversion of £5,850,000 in 1934." (April, 1939.)

6.—THE FIXATION OF WAGES.

The need of fixed principles in determining a living wage is obvious at the present time, especially if the advent of the servile State is to be impeded when peace returns to this Commonwealth.

(a)

"The problem at present in the determination of the basic wage is that immediately wages are increased by order of the Arbitration Court or a Board, rents and general costs of living increase! Consequently, the benefit of the rise is lost, and, while so far as rents are concerned, there is some provision, due to war-time conditions, to prevent their increase, the position with general commodities is not at all satisfactory in spite of the Commonwealth Prices Commissioner.

"We have said in the past, and we repeat again, that wages are the first charge on industry and must be paid before profits or dividends to shareholders are even considered. Chief Judge Beeby, of the Arbitration Court, has said that he regards the basic wage as adequate only for a family unit of three, i.e., a man, wife and one child.

"It is our contention that, irrespective of Child Endowment, the wage should be based on the needs of a man, wife and three children.

"A margin in the family income should be left to allow for losses due to unemployment, sickness and the inevitable "lag" in wages behind increased costs of living. Further, a worker should receive a wage sufficient to enable him to save enough to attain to 'the possession of some modest fortune.'

"Such an award ought to be made for all adult male workers, whether married or not, since the young unmarried worker should be able to save for marriage. Any possible anomaly due to the fact that the confirmed bachelor without dependents receives the same wage as a family man can be removed by wise taxation.

"For example, we see the Government to-day offering workers in certain war-production plants, 6/- per week in addition to their normal wages, if they surrender the right to leave their employment without permission. Besides the implications of such an arrangement, it has caused terrific industrial unrest amongst other unions, many of whom assert they are engaged in essential war-work, and others who are striking to obtain the extra wage.

"Such a state of affairs—whereby a Union seeks to obtain what it can, and employers pay what they can get away with, neither side having regard to principles of justice—is one that can only be remedied if the principles of Pius XI. in 'Quadragesimo Anno' are applied.

"We contend that the lack of stable principle in determining what wage industry should pay is the cause of much unrest at the present time. Especially do we protest, since it is the workers who are the losers. The index numbers for this century show that the 'real' wage of the workers has not increased.

"In fact, allowing for unemployment, the share of the worker in the national income is lower than at the beginning of the century.

"This fact is often overlooked by those who contend that all classes to-day are provided with more luxuries than the same classes 40 years ago. But the mere fact that such things as electricity, wireless, and gas are universal now should not permit our approval of present society, especially when we have regard to the great expansion in production since 1900.

"Finally, we wish to shortly state the three propositions of Pius XI. in determining the just wage:—

"*Firstly*—"The wage paid to the worker must be sufficient for the support of himself and his family."

"*Secondly*—"The condition of any particular business and of its owner must be considered." The fact that a business is badly managed and loses profits it could make, is not a sufficient reason for refusing a just wage on the ground of bringing ruin to the employer.

"*Thirdly*—"The wage-scale must be regulated with a view to the economic welfare of the whole people." The wage must be that most suitable to industry and workers and society generally.

"These principles are the only means of giving a 'fair go' to both employers and employees. Unless and until they are put into operation, industrial strife and unrest will stalk the length and breadth of this Commonwealth, bringing in its train either Communist revolution or the advent of the servile State." (May, 1941.)

(b)

"Many Australian housewives were startled recently when it was announced that the cost of living figures for the previous quarter had dropped and that there would be a corresponding drop of 1/- per week in the basic wage.

"He would be a hero, indeed, who would brave the wrath of the ordinary housewife by attempting to convince her that the drop was a true reflection of the position.

"The true position is that the machinery for computing the living costs is based on out-of-date standards.

"An authoritative statement that it was a matter for the Arbitration Court to decide whether the present method is suitable or otherwise is merely hedging the question.

"With greatly increased taxation since the war, the man who previously paid no income tax, now finds that the amount deducted from his weekly envelope is a very serious matter in the household budget.

"Quite apart from other reasons, which are obvious, the fact that taxation is not included in the tables when the basic wage is computed, is surely sufficient reason to show that the whole system is out-of-date.
—(November, 1943.)

7.—A THREE-POINT PROGRAMME.

"On the publication of the 50th issue of the 'Catholic Worker' we summarise for the benefit of Australian Christian workers the policy hammered out by the writers and readers of the paper.

"It is a policy that has crystallised month by month into a Three-Point Programme, and the time was ripe for stressing all three points, namely:—

"1. The Just Distribution of Income.

"2. The Restoration of Property to the People. (*See Chap. III.*)

"3. Social Control by Representative Boards. (*See Chap. VI.*)

"The first point has led us naturally to insist that statesmen should see that the wealth produced by the application of brains and brawn to land and capital is justly distributed. The young, the old and the sick, the widow and the orphan, have had first claim on our attention. We have fought for family endowment, for pensions for the destitute, for work for the unemployed, for just wages, shorter hours and better conditions for those in work, for decent pay for soldiers, for margins for skill, for reward for enterprise and ability. We have sought to increase labour's share of the national income and to cut down ruthlessly, Rent, Profit, and Interest.

"But we have not made the mistake that most social reformers make, the fatal mistake of thinking only in terms of distributing income. For we know, all workers know, that he who distributes income enjoys real power in industry and in agriculture. The price of liberty may be eternal vigilance, but its only guarantee is the possession of property. And because we want workers to be free, we want workers to be owners."—(*March, 1940.*)

CHAPTER VI.

The Co-Operative Commonwealth

1. THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

2. CO-OPERATIVES IN A CHRISTIAN ORDER.

1.—THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

On the first page of its first issue in February, 1936, the "C.W." quoted a statement made by his Grace the Archbishop of Melbourne (Most Rev. Dr. Mannix) nearly twenty years previously in a letter to the "C.W.'s" predecessor, "Australia." The statement read:—

"It would be hard to convince them (the workers) that they are not as much entitled to industrial control as they are to political power."

Adapting to Australian conditions one of the leading social principles of Pope Pius XI., the "C.W.," on February 29th, 1936, indicated the way in which workers could secure industrial control.

"The revolutionary message of the social Encyclicals might well be summed up in the slogan 'Property for the Proletariat' . . . When the seamen control the shipping lines, as wage-earners through the unions and as shareholders through the companies, the Papal idea will be realised and we shall see here in our own land the dawn of a Christian economic order allowing for the free, full, unfettered development of family life and the flourishing and fruition, under God's Grace, of the human personality.—(February 29th, 1936.)

In one way or another, the right of the workers to industrial control was constantly reiterated.

"Where possible, workers should be independent owners, but in large industries they must at least be shareholders, and shareholders with a real power of control."—(June, 1936.)

The "C.W." attacked a monopolistic taxi-cab company thus:—

"Instead of trying to swallow up the small taxi-owner, the company ought to hand over its 250-odd licenses to the present cab-drivers. These workers would then own and earn. Their takings could be used to provide them with a living income and the means of becoming direct owners of the cabs they use to get their livelihood."—(July, 1936.)

"There must come the revival of vocational groups as the controlling force in industry. The workers must be given not only a share in the profits of the industry in which they labour, but also a share in its control. This will require an entirely new idea of property. The traditional Catholic idea of trusteeship, that no man

owns property absolutely but holds it only as a trustee for his fellow-man, must be revived. These boards, on which employers and workers must have equal representation and equal power, must be placed in control of every industry. They will find their function in the regulation of wages and conditions of labour, the fixation of prices and the general planning of the industry. The role of the State will be twofold—to secure the co-ordination of all the industries thus separately controlled, and to preserve, if necessary, by the fullest exercise of its power, the balance and equality of the classes.”—(March, 1937.)

While vocational groups, industrial boards or councils were proposed as a means of promoting economic democracy, the “C.W.” was from the start committed to the restoration of property to workers as the chief means of securing the efficient functioning of industrial society.

“The salvation of the workers rests neither in Capitalist ownership nor in State ownership. Here the Communist is as reactionary as the Capitalist. The only progressive move is ownership by the workers themselves. They who work must also own.”—(June, 1937.)

“Pope Pius XI. calls for the speedy modification of the wage-contract at least by a contract of partnership between owners and wage-earners, by which the latter are made sharers in ownership, management and profits.

“In the light of Australian conditions and following the lead of Chesterton and Belloc, the ‘C.W.’ advocates an even more radical and revolutionary change in the present economic order. It demands that as many workers as possible be admitted to direct ownership, and that, not in the next century, but in the present generation.

“There is no insuperable economic difficulty to prevent the attainment of this policy. Where the business admits of individual ownership, individual ownership, as in the case of the small shop, farm or factory, must be encouraged and extended. Where the enterprise calls for the division of labour and numerous workers, as in the large engineering workshops, the chain-store or the sheep-station, all the workers engaged in it must co-operatively own it.

“In both cases, the setting up of guilds or vocational groups will enable worker-owners to plan economic activity and to ensure and maintain widespread workers’ ownership and the coincidence of political liberty and economic security.

“It is idle to cherish the hope that the mere setting up of a guild in a given industry will overcome the deep-rooted social antagonism arising from wage-slavery and the concentration of property in the hands of a few. To be really effective, the guild must be based on individual or co-operative workers’ ownership.

“Any action taken to enable workers to become owners will inevitably mean that existing owners will in the long run be forced

to surrender much of what they own to the propertyless workers whom they employ.

"Whether this radical and revolutionary change will be effected by confiscation in the name of social necessity and under the aegis of the State, as Father Coffey and Father von Nell-Bruening suggest, or whether it will be effected indirectly by other and more protracted means, as certain Dominican writers imply, is a matter which does not now concern us.

"What is a matter of real concern is that all should quickly realise that to maintain the existing wage-system without modification is to court red revolution, and that to restore property to dispossessed workers is to found in fact economic democracy and establish on the only secure basis the co-operative commonwealth."—(December, 1938.)

On April 14th, 1940, the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Australia issued a momentous Statement on Social Justice. In its issue of May 4th, 1940, the "C.W." said:—

"We thank the Hierarchy for this historic statement and we urge all Catholic workers to study it sentence by sentence, and to bring it to the notice of their fellow-workers. The Bishops do not condemn the wage-contract or the wage-system as such. They vehemently insist that great and far-reaching changes in that system must be made forthwith if it is to survive. . . . The 'C.W.' will seek to amend the wage-system in accordance with the Bishops' principles. But we note that the Bishops have implicitly, if not directly, given encouragement to the studies of those who, like the 'C.W.', would prefer a social system quite different from the wage-system. 'Wages do not generally comply with the human needs of the family,' say the Bishops. 'The wage-system is not the only possible system, nor, perhaps, the best. Though in itself it is not unjust, it presents certain serious defects.'

"We do not ourselves accept the present wage-system, in which a majority of citizens without property work for wages for a minority of citizens with property. We wish to see workers owners; individual ownership of small industrial units, co-operative ownership of large units. Our policy is a particular application of the Bishops' principle 'that the right to property or ownership "not only in the fruits of the earth but in the very soil" is natural and necessary for man.'

"The Bishops have proposed a revolutionary change in industry. We ourselves feel that, unless a wide redistribution of property among workers precedes or accompanies such a change, the full benefits which might be derived from the application of this principle will not be achieved. However, it remains true that industrial peace and economic progress will not be promoted under any system unless occupational groups are established."—(May, 1940.)

The "C.W." had advocated in peace-time the need for establishing democratic social controls. The impact of war brought about

the establishment of bureaucratic social controls. These we sought to democratise.

"Social control has come to stay. A necessary part of our war effort, it will be an essential feature of our peace-time economy. The principles of social planning for the benefit of workers have been carefully thought out by Christian leaders, especially by Popes such as Pius XI. To a certain extent we in Australia are already familiar with social control in the shape of Wages and Marketing Boards.

"But with the advent of war, we have a priceless opportunity of pushing the principles of social control to their logical conclusion and of demanding that workers, owners, and co-operative groups and institutions should have direct representation on boards for the social control and economic planning of each industry.

"We shall insist that such Boards should control not only prices and wages, but should also exercise a general control over investment, interest, profit and rent.

"Such Boards must be largely representative of the workers actually engaged in industry, assisted by trained economists and representatives of allied industries and the consuming public. Such Boards must from the outset curb monopoly, increase the number of worker-owners, and the number of co-operative workers' industrial units and on every part of the economic front insist on the just distribution of income and property.

"Social control has come to stay. If Australian workers adopt our policy, it will not be long before we have social control by the workers for the workers, the real prelude to industrial democracy.

"The Government should arrange for the appointment or election of workers to all new Boards so that they may acquire the experience necessary for the new economic order."--(March, 1940.)

By June, 1943, the "C.W." had adopted the term "Industrial or Rural Council" in place of the terms "Vocational Group, Guild and Industrial Board," which it had formerly employed. The new name is in general use among Australian Christian thinkers, and to it there attached none of the odium associated with the bureaucratic war-time institutions that were actually established.

"One of the issues of the coming age may well be social control from below as opposed to Government or bureaucratic control from above. Our stand on this issue is already taken. We want social control that will smash the chain-store and the department-store; that will break monopoly, whether of the Government or the Combine; that will protect the small shopkeeper, the small manufacturer, the small farmer; that will make every worker an owner; that will enable social groups of workers who are also owners to manage their industrial or agricultural affairs in a decentralised democracy. We do not want to see the bureaucrat triumphant and the people in chains. We want justice and freedom now."--(June, 1943.)

2.—CO-OPERATIVES IN A CHRISTIAN ORDER.

"One of the most significant features of the modern economic system has been the growth of the Co-operative Movement throughout the world.

"This movement is especially important because it offers an answer to the increasing trend towards monopoly. The problem is frequently put as a dilemma between monopolies controlled by private citizens and complete State ownership. Co-operatives show the way out of this dilemma.

"They do so from their very nature, because they are essentially institutions of the common people. They were founded one hundred years ago by the poorest of the poor in a small factory village of Rochdale, in England. They succeeded, after many errors, in evolving a stable set of principles, which have been the basis of all successful co-operative effort ever since.

"Those principles may be summarised as follow:—

"(1) Membership is open to all who are willing to become members, and they are free to retain such membership so long as they do nothing to injure the co-operative. No one is forced to become a member, because that is entirely opposed to the whole spirit of the movement.

"If a man joins of his own free will, it means that he is convinced of the true meaning of co-operation, and will be a useful member. At the same time, great care is taken that no one member or group of members obtain control of the co-operative. One member one vote has been an inviolable rule of all true co-operatives throughout the world. Thus no matter how many shares a member might have, he is still restricted to one vote. In practice, also, the number of shares a member may own is limited.

"(2) The rate of interest on share capital is fixed at the lowest prevailing rate, and does not vary with the profits of the business, so that the evils of speculation in shares do not affect the co-operative.

"(3) The profits of the enterprise, after setting aside amounts to provide for reserve, educational purposes, etc., are divided between the members in proportion to their patronage, and not in accordance with the number of shares they may hold. The result is that what a member receives from a co-operative enterprise depends not only on his share-holding, but on what he spends in the co-operative store.

"(4) Cash trading is insisted upon. If a member needs credit to tide him over a hard time, he should be able to obtain that amount from his credit union, and thus be able to pay cash at the store.

"Credit unions are simply co-operative societies enabling the members thereof to save money. By means of pooling their savings, all the members come to the help of a member who has to meet heavy expenses in an emergency.

"Such a mutual scheme enables the members to obtain what they require without having to resort to time payment, money-lenders, and their offshoots, the cash order firms, by which they pay far more than they would otherwise do.

"Another advantage of the credit union is that it enables the co-operative members to save money which would probably be otherwise spent.

"(5) Goods are sold at current market prices. In this way, the co-operatives do not enter into the vices of under-cutting, one of the marks of cut-throat capitalist competition.

"Moreover, it ensures that the employees are paid a just wage, for it is a co-operative principle that all employees should be well treated, in all respects, pay, hours of work, and conditions of labour.

"In any scheme of post-war reconstruction, it is desirable that room be found for the expansion of the co-operative movement."—
(July, 1941.)

CHAPTER VII.

The Impact of War

1. THE IMPACT OF WAR.
2. THE DEFENCE OF AUSTRALIA.
3. WAR IN EUROPE.
4. THE CONSCIENCE OF THE SOLDIER.
5. THE DUTY OF THE SOLDIER.
6. CENSORSHIP.
7. SHOULD AUSTRALIANS SERVE IN EUROPE?
8. COULD WE DEFEND OURSELVES?
9. WAR IN THE PACIFIC.
10. THE ISSUE OF CONSCRIPTION.
11. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SOLDIERS.
12. JUSTICE FOR FIGHTING MEN.
13. THE SOLDIERS' RIGHT TO MARRY.

1.—THE IMPACT OF WAR.

The deep foreboding in the heart of every Australian found utterance in May, 1939:—

"In every land, under every flag, the war party is on the march. It gathers recruits from every political creed and every social philosophy. It storms the chancelleries of Europe; it captures the entire secular press of every country; it wins the allegiance of millions in every continent. Artificially stimulated by capitalists hungry for markets, by Communist, Fascist and Democratic fanatics bent on a new crusade, and by peoples wanting injustice, a lust for blood has created the damnable impression that terrifying slaughter is desirable, necessary and inevitable.

"War is never desirable. War is rarely necessary. War is not inevitable. If men do not want war, there need be no war. Men make war. Men may make peace."—(May, 1939.)

2.—THE DEFENCE OF AUSTRALIA.

And pleading for a land and a life worth defending, the "C.W." said:—

"To secure the adequate defence of Australia, it is the first duty of our Governments to make Australia worth defending. Give every adult man in this country full-time work at a vastly increased basic wage, supplement such a wage with a liberal scheme of family

endowment, restore property to the workers, give workers a stake in the country, establish economic democracy by setting up boards composed of workers, employers and experts for the planning of each industry for peace and war, introduce social justice—and there will be no need to talk of conscripting Australian workers for military training or home defence. Australian workers will rush to the colours.

"It is criminal to speak of conscripting human lives for home defence till Governments have first worked out in detail, and begun to apply in practice, a national scheme for conscripting profits and property.

"If, in the event of war, all Governments were to insist that the profiteers behind the lines received no more than the soldier in the trench receives, there would be little prospect of war.

"Justice demands in a just war, even in the preparation of a just war, equality of sacrifice. Can we deny a just wage and family endowment to the soldier in the firing line while any citizen serving his country in a purely civil capacity receives more than £500 a year?

"The national effort necessary for a just, defensive war can be called forth only by radical legislation enacting social justice. Without social justice, Australia cannot survive as a nation."—(May, 1939.)

3.—WAR IN EUROPE.

On the night of Sunday, September 3rd, 1939, the Prime Minister announced that Australia was at war. Blood and misery were again to deluge the world in this second World War. For a while Australia was stricken with a kind of dull wondering as to what would happen. For thousands of workers throughout the Commonwealth the real causes of the war were crystallised by the "Catholic Worker," in its issue of September, 1939:—

- "1. Men are to blame for the scourge of war, not God;
- "2. The primary cause of war is, and has been, the failure of all peoples and Governments to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice;
- "3. The Capitalist struggle for markets, German aggression, and Communist treachery are the secondary causes of the present war;
- "4. No Australian should be conscripted for military service overseas, as Australian Christians may lawfully believe it to be their duty to abstain from bearing arms in Europe during the present war;
- "5. While bearing in mind the truth that Nazis and Communists are our brothers in Christ, Australian Christians should render Britain, France and Poland the utmost material and moral aid;
- "6. In order to defend Australia from unjust and unprovoked aggression, Australian Christians should be prepared to lay

down their lives, if need be, in the defence of the Australian people on Australian soil;

"7. Before enlisting for service overseas, it is the duty of each Australian Christian to decide for himself whether or no, in the light of Christian principles, he should so enlist;

"8. As there can be no peace without charity and no justice without prayer and sacrifice, it is the duty of every Australian Christian to ask God in His mercy to give the world that which it has not sought and that which it does not deserve—Peace in our time.

"In expressing these or any other views, the 'Catholic Worker'—naturally—does not commit the Church officially."—(September, 1939.)

It was not until the Japanese armies swept down from Asia to the northern reaches of Australian waters that the deep-rooted patriotism of the paper's stand was fully revealed.

4.—THE CONSCIENCE OF THE SOLDIER.

The emphasis placed was, from the beginning, upon the difficulties of the individual conscience in dealing with the immense problem confronting Australia:—

"It is not easy for Christian workers to settle the problems of conscience and policy confronting them to-day. After all, moralists of standing have told us that it is almost impossible to wage a just world war in the 20th century, for it is at least arguable that the evil of war outweighs the rights that war seeks to vindicate. Indeed, it has been said that in a world war both sides must be in the wrong precisely because world war is the outcome of policies formulated by great pagan powers owing no real allegiance to Christ. Many moralists, however, still hold that a just defensive war may be undertaken to-day. Our chief problem is then this: are we engaged in a just defensive war?

"This year Britain guaranteed Poland assistance if any European power attacked her. Subsequently, Nazi Germany and later Soviet Russia invaded Poland. Both committed acts of aggression against her. Britain declared war on Germany."—(November, 1939.)

"Strictly speaking, Britain's declaration of war did not involve Australia in the present conflict. We had to declare war ourselves. Some Australians feel that, while we should give Britain moral and material support, we should retain our men exclusively for the defence of Australia. The constitutional position is obscure, the political questions involved are tremendous. On such a political issue, the 'C.W.' expresses no opinion. It leaves to the Christian conscience of the Australian worker the responsibility of deciding whether or no he should enlist in the new A.I.F. or in the Commonwealth Militia. We have declared it to be the duty of every Australian to prepare for the defence of Australia on Australian soil. For this purpose we need an Australian Army for home defence—our primary concern and duty.

"On the high grounds of conscience and national policy, we oppose the proposal that there should be *only* an Imperial Defence Force in Australia. While Christian workers volunteer for service overseas, we will not oppose the creation of a new A.I.F.; indeed, we will support it. We will oppose any attempt to deny justice to men enlisting in the Militia or the A.I.F. For them, as for all workers, we will fight for justice.

"The 'C.W.' will, throughout this war, protect the rights of the individual conscience. It will counsel no man to fling his life away in vain. It will struggle continuously for peace with justice."—
(November, 1939.)

5.—THE DUTY OF THE SOLDIER.

Above all, we sought an army composed of Christian soldiers:—

"In a world governed by brute force, every bargain must be backed by force.

"It is impossible to trust anybody, friend or foe, in an age when morals count for so little in public life or international affairs.

"For this, if for no other reason, it is Australia's job to make an Army, not for military activity abroad alone, but for the defence of her own interests and for the protection of Australian soil and Australian seas.

"To-day, an Australian Army is in the making. Thousands, tens of thousands, of young Australians will shortly leave their civil jobs and master the art of making a nation safe.

"It is not hard to die for one's country in the ranks of a national army. Fighting for Australia on Australian soil, all Australians would, if the need arose, face death manfully. But it is hard to *live* for Australia, even in an Australian army.

"It is hard to keep one's head, when young men talk of women cheaply; hard to control one's self, when spirits are high and drink is free; hard to keep constantly in mind, day after day, on the road, in the fields or in the camp, the fact that a recruit is called upon to act, speak and think, as a man, for Christ and for Australia.

"A moral derelict can learn to shoot straight. Only a *man* can go straight when even the army flaunts lust in his face.

"Some few think the army a home for slackness—slackness in morals especially.

"An army that leads to promiscuity, an army that spreads disease, physical and moral, an army that breaks the morale of youth, such an army would be for Australia a scourge and a curse, spelling the corruption of our young men and doom for the land.

"Australia must not have such an army. Australia must have a clean, vigorous, virile army, a New Army, breaking with the rotten traditions of the past, a new army producing for Australia youths who will make good husbands and good fathers.

"We exhort the authorities to make the new army an instrument of national regeneration and its camp an open-air school of national education. This will require on the part of army authorities more

skill and more intelligence than the meeting of foreign invasion."—
(August, 1940.)

6.—CENSORSHIP.

With the coming of war, the issue of conscription divided the nation. The approach to all the problems of the war was stated in this way:—

"Four years ago this month, the 'Catholic Worker' started out, practically without money, to apply to the problems of peace the eternal principles of Social Justice. To-day, on the threshold of an appalling European conflict, with 200,000 determined workers behind it and with two-thirds of the Australian people believing in the same policy, it renews its determination to apply those same principles to the problems of war.

"This paper refuses to touch purely political questions. But if any question raises fundamental moral issues, censorship or no censorship, we will fight to the last ditch to raise our voice against the violation of Christian standards, the disregard of the natural law and the perpetration of any single act of social injustice.

"Upon the principles we invoke, all Catholics are agreed. Upon our application of those principles, Catholics may disagree. But unless and until someone takes the risk of applying them, even of making a mistake in applying them, no action will ever be taken towards establishing the Kingdom of God on earth."—(February, 1940.)

7.—1940: SHOULD AUSTRALIANS SERVE IN EUROPE?

As the months of war went on, anxiety grew on the national issue of the despatch of Australian forces to Europe and Africa. For once we departed from the golden rule that purely political matters should not be dealt with:—

"From our first issue we have refused to take up a definite stand on purely political questions—not because political questions are unimportant, but because we have striven for unity on great social and economic issues involving morals.

"As Christian workers, we have, however, a duty to promote the common good, even in matters purely political. Accordingly, we think it advisable to place before our readers a vital political issue, which may determine the future of our children. We have hitherto only touched on this question in defence articles, when we asked workers, before enlisting for overseas service, to weigh carefully all the arguments for and against an expeditionary force. We approach the question of the Second A.I.F., not as Catholics, but simply as citizens, anxious to see the Australian people survive. Upon the question of sending more troops overseas we will not ourselves speak; but we do believe that it is the bounden duty of Australian politicians to place all the issues connected with the despatch of troops frankly before the Australian people. We believe that, if the very existence of Australia is to-day at stake, the Australian people, and not the

Australian Parliament, should assume responsibility for framing the national policy on military service overseas.

"Hence we urge that the Commonwealth Parliament should, without delay, ask the people to decide by referendum for or against the two following propositions:—

"(1) THAT NO AUSTRALIAN SHALL BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE AUSTRALIA FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENGAGING IN WARFARE OVERSEAS; and

"(2) THAT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH BE AMENDED TO PROVIDE THAT NO AUSTRALIAN SHALL BE CONSCRIPTED FOR MILITARY SERVICE BEYOND AUSTRALIA.

"By amending the Defence Act, the Commonwealth Parliament could impose conscription for service overseas. If the projected amendment to the Constitution were passed, Parliament would not be able to conscript Australians for service beyond Australia.

"Military, political, economic, racial, cultural and moral reasons make it quite impossible for Australia to adopt the position of a neutral in the present war. Australians rightly wish to aid Britain and France in opposing the aggression of Germany and Russia. And Australians rightly claim that Australian needs and Australian interests should condition not only the quantity but also the quality of the help we give the Allies.

THE CASE AGAINST.

"Many Australians hold that, with hundreds of millions of Asiatics eager to expand southwards, and with a bare seven millions in this country, it is ridiculous to allow even volunteers to leave Australia for service overseas. They point out that our birth-rate is falling, that we can secure no more migrants from Britain, that the British Navy cannot defend us, that the British Navy can do no more than keep Britain's trade routes open in the Mediterranean, the North Sea and the North Atlantic, that only the neutrality of Italy and Japan—a doubtful quantity—allows us to export goods to Britain, that, even if Britain were not at war, neither Britain nor the United States could aid Australia if Australia were attacked, and that, recognising all this, Britain long ago told Australia to look to her own defences and not to send troops overseas.

"Those who argue thus would not send Australian troops overseas, but would give the Allies help in every other way open to them.

THE CASE FOR.

"On the contrary, many Australians argue that Australia is in the long run helpless without the naval might of Britain. They hold the existence of Australia is absolutely dependent on the supremacy of the Empire and on the maintenance of a vast international trading system based on London. They say that Australia can exist only as a country of half-a-dozen large cities engaged in manufacturing

goods for a farming community whose purchasing power is derived principally from the sale of wool and wheat and other primary products to Britain and overseas countries. They say that the only sure guarantee of the Australian marketing system is the British Fleet, which, if Australia is to survive, must dominate the waters of the earth. Hence, they conclude, Australia must be prepared to send overseas half a million men to aid Britain in keeping the Empire together and the Fleet triumphant in what they hold is a great crusade against persecution, bad faith and oppression.

CONSULT THE PEOPLE.

"Believing, as we do, that Australia's fate hangs in the balance, we record our conviction that the Australian people, rather than the Cabinet and the Parliament, should either ratify or annul the decision to send the Second A.I.F. abroad. Only in this way will the nation put an end to a controversy that will weaken and divide Australia as the years pass.

"By embodying in the Constitution a provision forbidding conscription for overseas service—an issue which should arouse no controversy, the nation will set at rest fears that still assail the minds of Australian workers.

"The interests of national unity require the submission of the above-mentioned questions to the Australian people."—(*April, 1940.*)

8.—COULD WE DEFEND OURSELVES?

"As Asia wakes from her sleep and is on the march, even the capitalist press supports the statement of the 'C.W.' of September 30, 1939, that 'in order to defend Australia from unjust and unprovoked aggression, Australian Christians should be prepared to lay down their lives, if need be, in the defence of the Australian people on Australian soil.'

"On the highest authority we accept the crisis as far from remote and the danger as imminent and real.

"Our duty is obvious: the nation must defend itself; we must defend ourselves—by international co-operation in the Pacific so long as that remains humanly possible—by arms if the frightful need should ever arise!

"But, in spite of the presumed intelligence and honesty of our leaders, there exists a real dilemma, namely, that the defence of Australia may, in the secret corridors of diplomacy, be confused with the defence of something neither Australian nor British.

"As the Melbourne 'Age' recently remarked editorially, adopting the language of the Special (Tokio) Representative of the Australian Associated Press: 'The Australian Government will have to consider to what degree Australian interests are identical with British interests in China, and further, to what degree British (and Imperial) interests are identical with the interests of certain huge private corporations.'

"For us, there is only one vital immediate and essential 'interest,' namely, the welfare, here and now, of the 10,000,000 working men

and women of Australia and New Zealand and their respective territories. That interest is not to be confused with, and it certainly should not in any circumstances be subordinated to, the other 'interests' specified. To keep war from *their gates*, to maintain peace in *their homes*, to establish without bloodshed a right relation between *their* essential interests and the interests of teeming Asia and the Islands of the Indies, constitutes our imperative duty.

"It is equally our duty to remember that these essential interests are rights and, like all human rights, are subject to definite limitations. If those limitations are recognised, if our Government eschews Imperialist ambitions, it is not altogether impossible that the militant Imperialism of Japan and the United States may be also kept within limits that will permit of the survival of the Australian people."—*(March, 1941.)*

"At last the politicians and the press of this country have chosen to affirm the policy with respect to the peoples of Australia and New Zealand, which were enunciated a year ago in the columns of this paper. At long last the Government has recognised that 'it is the duty of every Australian to prepare for the defence of Australia on Australian soil.'" ("C.W.," 4/11/'39.) "Now, when the waters of the Pacific belie their very name, it is openly admitted that 'it is Australia's duty to husband carefully the lives of young Australians for the future defence of their own land.'" ("C.W.," 13/1/'40.)—*(March, 1941.)*

9.—WAR IN THE PACIFIC.

War did come to the Pacific, and before the nation had awakened the unknown enemy from Asia was on the march:—

"With the taking of Rabaul and the bombing of Darwin and Broome, the Japanese assault on Australia began. It caught this country ill-prepared. For years, the imperialists on the one hand and the internationalists on the other formed an open conspiracy to subordinate Australian interests and the Australian people to the requirements of overseas Communism and overseas Capitalism.

"Their propaganda had a devastating effect on the morale of a considerable section of the people. Europe and Russia attracted energies which should have been devoted entirely to Australia.

"In 1939, we aligned ourselves without hesitation beside Britain and Poland; we opposed Hitler; but from the start, remembering that Asia, with its myriad millions, was on the eve of an era of expansion, we did not hesitate to remind Australians that their first duty was to Australia. The lesson was not heeded. When Japan struck, we were virtually defenceless.

"The last twelve months have, however, witnessed a resurgence of the Australian national spirit and our own soil has been richly consecrated by the blood of thousands of young men, who have fought and died that Australia might still be free to work out her own salvation. Australia is no longer defenceless; Australians are defending Australia; the nation is now worthy of her nationhood.

"Britain, assailed by all the might of Germany, could not give us substantial assistance, but the United States has come to our aid. American seamen are in our ocean; American aviators in our skies. The soil of Papua enshrines the bones of the Americans and Australians who have died gallantly in stubborn resistance to Japanese aggression.

"Japan has not ceased to march. From Timor to Choiseul, her armies and her fleets stand poised for an unrelenting war of attrition. Japan is determined to wear us out and break our spirit. Henceforth, Australians must learn to rely largely upon themselves, their own capacity for work, their own readiness for self-sacrifice, their own willingness to embrace death, if need be, in the cities or on the battlefields.

"It is true that Australia's very survival depends on the willingness of Australians to work and fight. At this hour in our history, there is no room for those who will not rally to the Australian cause.

"But, more important than work and warfare, is prayer. Without the special intervention of God, it is difficult to see how the Australian people can survive the century. Like the Americans, we shall have to live in the Pacific with the Asiatics. Unless there is almost a miraculous change of outlook on the part of both the Japanese and the Allies, there would seem little prospect of real and lasting peace."—(February, 1943.)

10.—THE ISSUE OF CONSCRIPTION.

With referendum refused, and the clamour increasing, our approach to conscription for overseas service was crystallised as follows:—

"On September 30, 1939, in a series of resolutions which aroused world-wide comment, the 'C.W.' stated its attitude with respect to the present war.

"Two of those resolutions especially call for particular emphasis at the present time, when some young men are reluctant to make the sacrifices necessary for the defence of Australia within Australia; and when some old men are so negligent of Australian interests that they would conscript Australian citizens for military service *anywhere* outside Australia.

"On the outbreak of war, while the enthusiastically ignorant were careless of Australia's danger in the Pacific, we had no hesitation in declaring 'that, in order to defend Australia from unjust and unprovoked aggression, Australian Christians should be prepared to lay down their lives, if need be, in the defence of the Australian people on Australian soil.'

"From the outset we encouraged Australians to volunteer for Home Defence. As Christians, as workers, as Australians, we strove, month after month, to strengthen the morale and the morals of the forces designed for the defence of our own country.

"We did not wish to see Australia defenceless. We wished to see, and we have lived to see, Australia strong, determined and resolute in her own defence. Attached as we are to the rights of the Christian conscience, we determined to offer no opposition to compulsory military training, or conscription, for home defence. We supported national defence. We still support it.

"We defended the right of the Australian citizen to decide whether or no, on conscientious grounds, he should enlist for service overseas. We have defended the rights and the interests of the A.I.F.

"But we defended equally the right of the Australian citizen to abstain on conscientious grounds from military service overseas.

"It was for this reason, anticipating the present unreasonable clamour for conscription for service in distant lands, that we formally resolved more than two years ago 'that, as Australian citizens may lawfully believe it to be their duty to abstain from bearing arms in Europe during the present war, no Australians should be conscripted for military service overseas.'

"By this principle we stand to-day, as our fathers stood victoriously by it a generation ago. We will not have conscription for overseas service. To it we declare our irrevocable opposition.

"Conscription for overseas service would coerce the conscience of many Australians in a matter not directly and exclusively concerned with the defence of their own country.

"Conscription for overseas service would deprive the A.I.F. of its most notable character—the character of a free force of Australian volunteers defending the interests of the oppressed abroad.

"Conscription for overseas service would, in this year of reserved occupations and exempt categories, virtually sentence to death in foreign lands, against their better judgment, tens of thousands of men unlucky enough to have missed a technical training or to lack political and social influence.

"Conscription for overseas service ruthlessly applied would deprive Australia of the man-power necessary for her own defence.

"Finally, the demand for conscription for overseas service is an insult to the intelligence and patriotism of Australian young men. It is a demand already resisted by three Prime Ministers for the three major parties as likely to shatter national unity in this critical hour. That unity should not be shattered now."—(December, 1941.)

In the momentous days of late 1942, with the Prime Minister of a Labor Government, moving to impose the burden of military conscription on the Australian people, we affirmed our stand:

"Early in November General MacArthur declared with profound emphasis that no country in the world was making a more supreme war effort than Australia. But the Australian Prime Minister has asked the Labor Party to endorse a plan to merge the militia forces with the A.I.F., so as to enable the use of our young men in any part of the South-West Pacific Area, wherever that might be.

"It is supremely important for Australians to realise very clearly the issues before them, and to decide these matters not only according to common sense, but according to conscience. For ourselves, we do not attempt to dictate the opinions of any politician or citizen.

"It is a matter for Australians. Few among us will deny that weighty reasons must be shown before the whole of Australian manhood under arms is forced anywhere the Government of the day may ask. On the other hand, only the irresponsible will deny the importance of doing all in our power for the defence of our great land. For ourselves we hold fast to the concept of victory, and have never wavered in our belief that the enemy can, and must, be defeated. It is the condition of our continued survival as a nation.

"Australian political leaders will bear in mind the considered policy and law of the Commonwealth throughout forty-two years of national unity, that Australians shall not be FORCED to serve beyond the confines of Australia and her territories.

"It may be asked why the present proposal is limited to the South-West Pacific Area, the definition and limits of which are necessarily known only to a few. People do not like being in the dark when they have to make decisions. It is hard to understand why the proposal should be limited to the South-West Pacific Area. It seems to us indefinite and illogical. Why not Malaya? Why not Burma? Why not the Middle East? Why not China, or Japan itself?

"The real facts that Australian politicians and people must face up to are the limitations of our population of seven millions. Can we act as a great arsenal necessarily employing a large proportion of our population in war production? Can we contribute heavily to the Empire Air Scheme? Can we maintain the huge Air Force so necessary to the defence of Australia? Can we maintain a Navy? Can we, in view of all these factors, afford to send *anywhere* the bulk of our army—composed as it is of the very life-blood of the nation?

"Taking into account all these physical limitations, can it be said that the voluntary system has failed? Those who would say that it has failed have forgotten the imperishable deeds of the A.I.F.; they have forgotten the vast numbers who volunteered from the militia for service overseas. It will not do to forget these things when making our decision. Before such a far-reaching proposal is enacted these matters must be well considered. They are matters not only for the politicians, but for all Australians."—(December, 1942.)

11.—THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE SOLDIERS.

In our darkest hour the "C.W." saluted Australia's fighting sons:—

"Many of our finest young men—members of the A.I.F. and A.M.F. alike—are bearing the scourges of war in New Guinea. With magnificent bravery and courage they are barring the Japanese path of conquest.

"We are not fighting for just an easy way of life—a life composed of motor cars, horse races, picture shows and beer. We are fighting for Australia—the land that God gave us that we might serve Him in it, and, doing so, increase and multiply.

"Let us, therefore, put our trust in God and struggle with courage and devotion. The battle will be long, and it will be hard, but men with stout hearts and strong arms have never yet flinched from great odds. Australian soldiers have ever fought bravely. The Australian nation is now fighting for Australia."—(October, 1942.)

There was high inspiration:—

"Australia is our mother:
her warm, rich soil is
wrapped about the bones
of those who gave their all
to win her for us.
Shall an alien enslave her
because we shirk
from toil and self-denial?
Above us swings the Cross,
a starry symbol
of our common Christian origin,
the hope that should inspire us
to seek a nation's resurrection
from the darkness
of a people's crucifixion."—(September, 1942.)

Australia owes an immense debt to her soldiers:—

"The capitalist press of the cities has much to answer for. Responsible in great part for the formation of public opinion in the palmy days of peace, the daily newspapers at large neglected the question of Australian defence.

"Even now, while the Japanese close in on us from the North, standing poised to strike, the Australian press, generally speaking, devotes more of its space to battles being fought overseas than to the lonely, anxious vigil our own soldiers maintain about our coasts.

"The most significant fact about Australia at the present time is that this country has no less than one-tenth of its citizens under arms. Our men are ready to do battle and die in defence of their Australian homeland.

"They have given up the amenities of civilised life, have donned uniforms of khaki and green, live rough, hard lives at battle stations remote from civilisation, are instantly aware of the drone of the enemy bomber and the imminence of actual fighting.

"Many thousands have been broken in health by jungle fighting and tropical disease, but with unheard of gallantry are busily recruiting their strength in order to face and overwhelm the foe. These men are the unsung heroes of the war, but, when at rare intervals they return to the cities on leave, they are often like prophets with-

out honour in their own country. Neglected by those who owe them most, they have nothing to do but to walk the streets friendless.

"This neglect of our fighting men must cease. If ever men deserved wholehearted moral support, if ever men merited adequate recognition and unlimited national backing, it is the men of our own Australian defence forces. It is time the press, the politicians and radio-wizards recognised the Australian soldier for what he is.

"There has been altogether too much emphasis on the fighting overseas. There has been utterly inadequate recognition of the results of actual military operations in Papua and New Guinea. Together, the Australian and the American have vindicated the European tradition.

"When we see the uniform of the Australian soldier, workers will not forget that it is the national emblem of men who have given up their own homes to fight and, if need be, die for Australia."—(April, 1943.)

12.—JUSTICE FOR FIGHTING MEN.

From the outbreak of war, the "C.W." sought to obtain a fair deal for men under arms. After the waging of a long campaign, soldiers' pay was increased, but the disabilities of their families remain. In September, 1942, the "C.W." wrote:—

"War always brings about suffering and injustice, most of which can be removed by foresight and intelligent action. The rates of pay for soldiers of the A.I.F. are causing untold hardship among the men themselves, and more especially in their families.

"The Popes have continually stressed the need for all adults to be paid the living wage. They have done so because under the present economic system such a wage is the first essential to enable a man to provide both for immediate wants and for the future security of himself and his family. Under the present system the only way he can acquire property is by savings out of income; and to have real security man must own property.

"Neither the fact that this country is at war, nor the fact that a man has exchanged civilian clothes for a khaki uniform, is any reason why such men should not receive the basic wage for their services.

"In many cases they work far harder than in their civil employment, and in addition they have none of the freedom incidental to civilian life. They are expected to exist on 5/- a day, but out of this princely sum they must provide train fares for an occasional week-end leave, and, in a number of cases, try to make some addition to the income of their families.

"Their dependents are in a worse position. Wives receive £1/1/- per week and each child 7/- per week. On this, the wives have to pay the rent and buy the food necessary for a growing family. Most soldiers' wives have to live a hand-to-mouth existence on the pittance doled out to them.

"If we take the rent problem as a typical example of the difficulties confronting soldiers' wives, we find that rents have never been higher, that it is at present impossible to obtain a house under £2 a week in Melbourne.

"This is on the authority of a leading estate agent. What hope has the soldier's wife, whether with or without children, of obtaining a roof to cover the heads of herself and family? She is forced to put them into a poky room or two in somebody else's house at a rent which should be sufficient to pay for a whole house.

"Besides the hardships of wives of soldiers, we find that sons of families, by enlisting, in many cases place the security of their family in jeopardy, since they are unable to support them to the extent to which they were accustomed.

"This problem of the basic wage for soldiers must be faced squarely. The labourer is worthy of his hire. While some munition workers manage to earn £14 to £16 per week, there is no answer to the soldier's cry for justice. They have not entered the army as a business proposition, but the very least they are entitled to is a just wage for the services they render.

"The money to make such payments can, and must, be found. It must be found not in the half-empty pockets of the workers, but in the well-lined wallets of the Capitalists, who continue to make huge profits from our necessities."

13.—THE SOLDIER'S RIGHT TO MARRY.

This right we strenuously upheld:—

"Men of the fighting forces do not, by reason of enlistment, lose their ordinary, natural right to marry. We do not agree with many who advocate that they should postpone marriage until after the war, whenever that blissful time may be.

"We still more strongly disagree with those who, if they advise marriage, recommend that there should be no children—until after the war. On the contrary, we consider it highly desirable both from the individual and social standpoint, that members of the fighting services be encouraged and assisted to marry.

"Wife, home and family are among the strongest ties which hold a man to the realities of life. Many members of the Services have testified to the truth of this. The temptations to forget the hardships, monotony and grind of active service in wine, woman and song are strong, as every soldier knows.

"It is often the thought of his wife and children at home which is the deciding factor in turning a man away from vice.

"With the majority of our young men in arms it is imperative, from the social standpoint, that the flower of the nation's manhood should be able to marry and produce a next generation. With the yellow hordes of Nippon menacing our frontiers the evils of a low birth-rate, with consequent scarcity of young, fit men, are painfully apparent.

"The Commonwealth Government has shown that it appreciates the importance of the home and family by increasing the allowances paid in respect of wives and children of members of the fighting forces. There remains more to be done.

"The allowances in respect of children subsequent to the first and second are not yet sufficient. Children cost very much the same to feed, clothe and educate, irrespective of their numerical order of birth. Australia wants families—large families.

"Consideration must also be given to the introduction of marriage loans, which would secure ownership of some property on marriage. Too often heavy tribute to hire-purchase companies and mortgagees eats up a great portion of the income of young couples. Indeed, without these loans and an increase in pay, single members of the forces have little hope of economic security on marriage.

"With large bodies of the Defence Forces at battle stations it would be desirable if the Government could arrange the granting of leave to married men periodically, to enable them to visit their homes and maintain family interests."—(September, 1942.)

CHAPTER VIII.

The Fight Against Slavery

1. NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.
2. THE REGISTRATION OF SLAVES.
3. THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.
4. NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.
5. THE BEVERIDGE PLAN.

1.—NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

In July, 1937, the "C.W." launched its main attack on the attempt to introduce compulsory labour or industrial conscription into Australia under the guise of a National Employment Insurance Scheme.

"With great fervour every Australian political party and all of the Australian dailies have embraced the proposals for National Insurance, recently tabled in the House of Representatives. The absence of any concerted opposition on the part of any political group means that the workers of Australia are about to fall victims to the worst attack which has ever been made upon their status since the foundation of Australia. It is evident that most of the people in favour of National Insurance have studied neither the proposal nor its implications. And yet they will be called upon to vote on this measure before the end of the year.

"The scheme which is likely to be introduced will be as follows: Contributions are to be paid equally by employers, employees and Governments up to a maximum of 9d. a week for each insured person. The benefits would be:—

"Adult single man, 15/- a week.

"Adult single woman and young man aged between 18 and 21, 13/6.

"Young woman aged between 18 and 21, 12/-.

"Married man, 27/-, with 4/6 for each dependent child up to four.

"Unemployed contributors benefit up to a maximum of 34 weeks a year.

"Only one criticism of the proposals has been voiced. The Labour Party has declared itself strongly against the contributory nature of the scheme. The criticism merely deals with the details, whereas the whole plan of National Insurance is disastrous and deserving of the strongest condemnation in its principles.

"National Insurance means that a system of national slavery is at last installed and given legal recognition as part of the law of

the land. The real menace of National Insurance is not on its contributory side. It does not lie in the fact that workers will have to contribute to the fund. Relatively to the main criticism, that aspect is only of minor importance. The real virus which runs through the proposals is that at last the Australian community is legally divided into two classes, one of which, because of its wealth, can remain free from continuous interference on the part of the State, while the other must be continually subject to that influence, because the State will not apply the true remedies which alone will make its members independent.

"It means that the workers must reconcile themselves to a system in which unemployment will be recognised as a permanent feature, a large number of the workers having to rely on the pittance which the State will give them, to keep body and soul together.

"There is no doubt that the only people who are really insured under the proposed scheme are the great owners of wealth, the men who have concentrated in their relentless grasp all the sources of wealth of this Commonwealth. What they are insured against is a revolt on the part of the masses whom they have deprived of property, a revolt against the intolerable slavery which they have imposed upon us.

"This plan means that we have to resign all hope of economic independence and equality, and rely on the charity of the men who have deprived us of those things. National Insurance is the last nail in the coffin which holds the dead liberties of the Australian working class.

"But National Insurance is not the end. As surely as night follows day, it will be followed by a national scheme of labour exchanges, through which the principle of compulsory employment will be foisted on the Australian workers. Those same workers can bet every penny they possess that the same Government authority which is supposed to pay them their insurance money, will make them accept any work that is offering, suitable or unsuitable, on the threat of classifying them as unemployable, thus depriving them of the proposed insurance benefits.

"Under no circumstances can we acquiesce in a scheme which is going to make us permanently dependent on the charity of the rich, which must eventually deprive us of our status of free men, by forcing us to accept any form of employment which an almighty bureaucracy determines for us. We condemn the claims of the God-State in Russia, Germany and Italy. Are we, then, to accept the more insidious but more effective tyranny of the God-State in Australia?

"If the criticism is raised that, under the present system, National Insurance is the best we can get, then it is the system which must go. No system is sacrosanct if it involves the denial of fundamental human liberties.

"The proposal takes it for granted that Australia cannot normally assure all of its people a decent standard of living and that unem-

ployment is a permanent institution. This is a colossal and indescribably shameful lie. And any measure which prevents people from seeing the wickedness of that lie must be opposed. The workers demand a true form, not a sop.

"Australia is faced with two crying needs: A wider distribution of INCOME, and a wider distribution of PROPERTY.

"The first can be obtained through a progressive reduction of hours; a progressive increase of wages to enable the worker to provide for his future without the need of State insurance and State slavery; a complete reorganisation and overhaul of the machinery of credit; a rigid limitation of interest, dividends and profits.

"When that is achieved, the most pressing requisite is a wider distribution of property, both in agriculture and in industry. On that basis there can be erected a system of vocational groups which alone provides the true means of securing the prosperity and independence of the worker.

"Even if the system of National Insurance were not disastrous in principle, the contributory method proposed is aimed only at reducing our already low living standards. If the system is to be forced upon us, at least we must insist that it be raised from taxation on surplus incomes, and not from our wages. But this question is entirely subordinate to the more important matter of principle.

"In the name of charity, the ruling class is attempting to deprive us of justice. They have made us slaves. Now they attempt to erect our slavery into a permanent institution. But they will not succeed. We want no sop, no palliative. What we demand, and what we will obtain, is a true reform which will make palliatives unnecessary.— (July, 1937.)

On reading the foregoing article, Hilaire Belloc, the distinguished historian and sociologist, to whom this book is dedicated, immediately wrote thus to the "C.W." :—

"The Editor,

"Dear Sir,—I cannot tell you what a delight it was to me to get your copy of July 3. We are a long way apart, and you will not get this till very late, but I do want to thank you, in company with thousands of others, for having rallied to and stated plain principle in the most important of all temporal causes at this moment.

"Every one of these insurance ramps and pension ramps and the rest of them are merely capitalist tricks for making certain of regimented labour provided by force through the State for the advantage of the owners. In a wholly Catholic society such falsehood would be discovered and destroyed—or rather, could never have been begun. But though we are not strong enough in this country to be of much effect against the advance of the servile State, I believe that you in Australia, with your much larger Catholic body, can resist successfully. I pray to God that you do.

"The issue is very simple. If what they desire, as they hypocritically pretend, is the wealth of the poorer citizen, then let them work for the restoration of property. The means are well known and have only to be applied. Let them re-establish guilds, put a differential tax on big businesses, especially in the retail form, strictly control public monopolies and prevent the artificial growth of monopolies in departments where monopoly is not a necessity. Those who fail to act towards that end are making directly for the re-establishment of slavery.

"If slavery comes, the responsibility will lie not only with those who support the false philosophy which is leading us to it, but with those who fail to resist in time. Very faithfully yours,

"H. BELLOC.

(October, 1937.)

The attempt to introduce a National Unemployment Insurance Scheme, with its corollary of compulsory labour, fortunately failed. The outbreak of War provided the Government with a pretext and a reason for introducing compulsory labour as an exceptional measure to meet extraordinary circumstances. Those who love liberty will see to it that compulsory labour ends with the War.

2.—THE REGISTRATION OF SLAVES.

In the National Register of 1939, the "C.W." saw the lights of liberty being extinguished:—

"In Communist Russia, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the State has long since taken to itself the power of completely controlling all human activity.

"People have not yet begun to realise that under the Parliamentary form of Government and in the name of Democracy, Governments are arrogating to themselves similar powers by which they hope to control all human activity in peace and war. Following on the National Insurance legislation, the National Register Act enables the Government to ascertain information which in war-time may be used dictatorially against the best interests of Australian workers. The information to be obtained may, in fact, be used to promote partial or complete conscription of manpower and human life. In that lies the deadly menace of the legislation.

"The wealth census which is to be taken could quite conceivably be used to promote the transfer to the Government of all property in Australia. It could be used to promote the wider distribution of property within Australia. It could be used to maintain and buttress the existing monopolist combines of Australia. It will probably not be used at all. As proposed, the wealth census is inadequate and useless.

"It is far otherwise with the proposed registration of manpower. In all probability this will mean sooner or later an extension

of Government control over the lives of individual workers. If such control were to be used for the purpose of restoring property and liberty to workers, little exception could be taken to the legislation. Given the present attitude of the Federal Parliament, such control will probably be used to place more securely the chains of the slave upon the working class.

"Trade Unions up and down the Commonwealth have declared their irrevocable opposition to the National Register. Campaigns have been initiated to secure its repeal and an agitation launched to persuade workers to boycott the Register, to refuse to apply for forms, to decline to pay fines, and to take industrial action in the event of the imprisonment of any worker. Naturally, the Communist Party, which opposes conscription in all countries save Russia, has joined in the hunt. Many Trade Union leaders, who imposed compulsory levies on Christian workers for the support of Red Spain and its conscriptionist Government, have now somersaulted and oppose anything that savours of compulsion and conscription. Sincere conscientious objectors, mere racketeers, Reds, and ordinary workers are all in the same boat.

"We oppose the National Register. Under present circumstances we doubt its necessity; under present politicians we doubt its utility, and we fear its abuse. We believe in fighting by constitutional means for its defeat. But we will ourselves acquiesce in the taking of the Register. For we have not the right, here and now, to defy the authority of the Government. Revolutionary action, involving the direct disobedience of the State is justified only in extreme conditions. Those conditions do not, here and now, obtain. If the legislation in question were intrinsically evil, it would be our duty to oppose it in the face of imprisonment and even of death. But such legislation lies within the competence of the supreme authority of the State. If evil, it is, so to speak, accidentally or circumstantially evil; but evil not on the grounds of morality, but of expediency. In the final analysis, the Government has to decide the expediency or otherwise of such legislation. Till repealed, it is binding on citizens. Only a conscientious objector in the strict sense has even the shadow of a right to defy a law not inherently evil.

"If Australian Governments, and especially the Commonwealth Government, had recognised not only the rights but the duties of Government, if politicians had really displayed any interest in the moral aspects of business and industry, if any honest attempt had been made to root out exploitation, to provide work for the workless and decent living conditions for those employed, if property had been restored to those without it and industry reorganised along the lines of the guild system, there would not be abroad such a spirit of defiance, and workers would not be invited to flout the law.

"Unless those in authority strain every nerve to secure Social Justice, this country will head straight for a general strike, chaos and servitude to the yellow men from over the water."—(July, 1939.)

3.—THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

With the coming of the War, slavery became a national institution. Pledged to the restoration of freedom, the "C.W." carried on the fight in a series of articles of which the three following are typical:—

(a)

"For the duration of the war at least, Australia will endure a parliamentary dictatorship or rather a bureaucratic dictatorship. The Australian has seen his Government adopt conscription and slavery as integral parts of war-time policy. The A.L.P., the U.A.P., the A.C.P., and the Reds, are at one in advocating conscription for the front line and the home front.

"We are now concerned with the peace, with the principles of post-war reconstruction.

"In this connection, all parties refuse to make clear their attitude with respect to the future of slavery in Australia after the war.

"When we use the word slavery, we do not use it in any rhetorical sense: we mean the real thing. It calls for definition.

"Men are not slaves if they are intelligently constrained to labour by enthusiasm, by a religious tenet, or indirectly from fear of destitution, or directly from love of gain or from the common sense which teaches them that by their labour they may increase their well-being. All this Belloc teaches.

"But men are slaves if they are constrained by positive law to work for the advantage of others, independently of any contract into which they may have freely entered. The free man can refuse his labour and use that refusal as an instrument wherewith to bargain: the slave has not such power to bargain at all, but is dependent for his well-being on the custom of society.

"As in Germany and Russia, workers in Australia are constrained by positive law to work for others. The control is designed for the control of workers as slaves. There is compulsory registration of slaves. Without the formal permission of those appointed to control slaves, men may not remain at the work originally chosen by them as free men, nor may they proceed freely to change job or vocation.

"If the citizen refuses to accept the status of slave, he may be subjected to fines and imprisonment, just like the fugitive of Roman times. The final sanction actually adopted by the law in this connection approaches the death penalty, for the free man who resists is handed over to the army for service in the front line.

"Slavery has thus been adopted as an integral part of national war-time economic policy.

"The very real danger is that, without clear political leadership and without specific political guarantees, slavery may become a permanent feature of Australian social life in the post-war period.

"Among the Communists and the capitalists and naturally among the ranks of expert bureaucrats, there are strong forces at work tending to make slavery a national Australian institution.

"As Christians, we oppose absolutely all proposals which involve the permanent reduction of Australian workers to a slave status. We do not believe that in peace-time Australian workers should be constrained by positive law to work for others independently of contracts freely entered into.

"We challenge the three leaders of the major political parties to declare openly their own minds on this question. The abolition of slavery in the hour of victory is the major issue of national politics."—(*July, 1943.*)

(b)

"Mr. Bevin suggested that the great war-time innovation—the principle of direction to work—might also be continued with advantage after the war."—The "Economist," July 31, 1943, commenting on an address by Mr. Bevin to the Miners' Conference.

"In this statement Mr. Bevin advocated, in effect, that a system of slavery should be imposed on workers. He welcomes the idea of directing workers to particular occupations!

"The bureaucrat will simply say to one worker, 'You go and work in a coal mine at Lithgow,' and to another, 'You go and work on an irrigation scheme in the Murrumbidgee.' Once that stage is reached the last vestige of economic freedom will be stripped from the worker. He will become a being devoid of all responsibility and control over his economic life.

"In Australia, too, there are many advocates of economic slavery. One Australian expert recently urged the retention of the Allied Works Council after the war. But the A.W.C. is based on the principle of compulsory labour, i.e., on the principle of slavery. The workers are promised full stomachs and full employment, but, in giving the workers these ends, they will turn them into economic slaves, directed and controlled by the 'experts.'

"This process is the natural result of the capitalist economy. Capitalism deprived the workers of their farms and their small workshops, and turned them into wage slaves, working long hours in factories owned and controlled by a few capitalists. Ownership and control was concentrated in the hands of the few; the masses, the workers, lived on a mere pittance when in employment, and starved on the dole when unemployed.

"It was a natural step for a clique, or a party, to assume control of the State and to either socialise the factories or control the capitalists. Hitler did this in Germany; Lenin did the same in Russia. But the workers were no better off. For them it was simply a change of masters, with this exception: Previously the State had not approved of a system of slavery. Such a system existed under capitalism, but the State ignored its existence. Under National

Socialism or Communism, however, the State officially approved of slavery.

"Slavery can only be averted in Australia if the worker is restored to his property, and given ownership and control in the factories.

"But the restoration of property to the workers is something which will never enter the minds of our 'reconstructionists.' Firstly, because they are incapable of understanding the ordinary man and his desire to own property; and, secondly, because they have not got the courage to implement a real reconstruction programme."—*(December, 1943.)*

(c)

"The Australian Government has, apparently, adopted as its theme for post-war reconstruction the idea of full employment. But this concept is devoid of any real significance unless we know the kind of society in which full employment will exist. And every Australian is vitally interested in the kind of society which our post-war reconstructionists desire.

"Full employment can be secured in a Capitalist society, or Socialist society, or in a society based on well-distributed property.

"In a Capitalist society full employment is the exception rather than the general rule. For, in a Capitalist society, it is the desire of the Capitalists to possess a reserve of unemployed labour.

"This reservoir, on which they can draw at will, enables them to depress the wages of men whom they employ and to hold the weapon of the sack continuously over their heads. Workers are haunted by the grim spectres of insecurity and insufficiency. They are enslaved to their capitalist bosses.

"In a Socialist society, the workers remain enslaved but their masters are changed. The capitalist is replaced by a nebulous public official—the bureaucrat. The means of production are concentrated in the hands of the State and, consequently, the worker is dependent on the State for his bread and butter.

"If he should disagree with the policy of the clique running the State, then he can be deprived of his bread and butter. Economic freedom under a Socialist regime is a myth; slavery is a fact. It is not difficult to see how the Socialist State can degenerate into a totalitarianism of the Hitler or Stalin type.

"Full employment can be assured under a Socialist system. If unemployment should arise, then the worker would be paid unemployment pensions. But it is the full employment of the type enjoyed by the Egyptian slaves who built the pyramids. It is a bare surrender of the freedom of the individual and the exaltation of the State.

"True economic freedom can only exist in a State possessing widely distributed property. In such a State the means of production are owned, as far as practicable, by the citizens comprising that

State. Being owners of their own means of production they are masters of their own economic life.

"They are freed from the slavery of Socialism or of Capitalism. Only in a society founded on well-distributed property will full employment connote freedom. Full employment becomes full ownership.

"The choice lies open to our post-war reconstructionists. Under what society are they proposing to introduce full employment?"—
(October, 1943.)

4.—NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE.

The contributory National Health Insurance Scheme of 1939 was examined in the following terms:—

"The 'C.W.' has accordingly asked every Federal politician to support its demand for a referendum on the most momentous social issue of the day before workers are forced to contribute to the funds of this appalling scheme.

"In opposing National Insurance, the 'C.W.' takes its stand on the high ground of principle. Our opposition to the scheme involves our opposition to nearly all schools of economic and political thought in Australia.

"Outside the 'C.W.,' there is practically nobody prepared to affirm that any society that pays wages so low that its citizens are forced to depend on pensions is a society fundamentally immoral. In the long run there is little difference between a socialist State and its pension schemes and a capitalist State bandaging its wounds with mere doles.

"We want a society in which the income of the ordinary worker is so high that he will not need any pension schemes.

"Until we get such a society, we demand that Australian Governments provide Australian workers with free, non-contributory systems of old-age, invalid, sickness and widows' pensions, with ample provision for dependant children.

"The money can be found for such free, non-contributory pensions. Governments can find money for defence over-night.

"By wiping out the cancerous crime of usury and taking the money which private individuals and private institutions extort from the Australian working-class, the Commonwealth Government can finance either the payment of just wages, which would make pensions ultimately unnecessary, or a national scheme of non-contributory allowances to meet the emergencies of workers.

"The present National Insurance Scheme divides citizens into two classes. It attaches definite disabilities to all workers getting under £7 a week. If you get less than £7 a week, this scheme obliges you willy-nilly to save and hand over to the Government a sum which will grow from year to year.

"Workers will be put by law into an inferior class. You will get your money back on conditions determined, not by yourself, but by bureaucrats in Canberra and by inspectors of the poor in every State. If you get more than £7 a week, you are free to save money in your own way and to spend it when you see fit.

"The present abominable scheme is really a dodge to make workers pay through the nose for their own pensions. In the long run, workers will probably get less under this scheme than they can get now from existing State and Commonwealth schemes. They will get less and pay more.

"Theoretically, each male worker will have to pay only $1/6$ a week under the scheme, and employers a similar amount in respect of each employe, with the Government subsidising the joint contributions.

"Actually, as eminent economists admit, the worker will pay indirectly at least two-thirds, if not ultimately the whole cost of the scheme.

"National Insurance, they say, will promote family well-being. Such is the scale of allowances for dependent children that it will almost pay Australian workers to be childless—and that when this country needs every baby workers can bring into being!

"A permanently sick and disabled worker with a dependent wife and three children will get the lavish income of 38/- per week under this generous scheme. The average allowance for each dependent child is $3/6$ a week—sixpence a day to house, feed and clothe a growing boy!

"The present scheme penalises the small employer, the small artisan, the small shopkeeper and the small farmer. There are, roughly, 250,000 such people in Australia. If they happen to employ only one worker and themselves make less than £7 a week, they will have to pay into the fund for the person they employ, and they themselves get no benefit of any sort.

"The scheme is calculated to drive out of existence the small working-owner and to promote big business and monopoly throughout the continent.

"Possibly the scheme, if not rejected, will be amended. The only amendments that will suit the Australian workers we roughly outline:

"(1) The Government must pay the small working-owner's contributions to the fund, and it must encourage the small man by giving him free insurance as well.

"(2) More important still, the Government must exempt workers from contributing to the fund. As far as workers are concerned, they must be given the right to free, non-contributory pensions until society is reorganised from top to bottom and the need for pensions disappears.

"(3) Finally, before a single penny is collected from employers or employees for this wretched scheme of National Insurance, the

Australian people must be given an opportunity of deciding for or against it by referendum.

"It is high time the Labor Party declared its mind on National Insurance. If it is not in favour of contributory insurance, is it in favour of free insurance all round, or that infinitely better thing, the restoration to Australian workers of property and the income that goes with property?

"The only real alternative to contributory National Insurance is the re-organisation of Australian life along the lines of the Encyclicals of Pope Pius XI. We want nothing less than that."—
(March, 1939.)

In July, 1939, the "C.W." was able to record the demise of this Health Insurance Scheme.

The struggle for some interim measure of reform that would really meet the needs of sick and disabled workers and their families continued. The war postponed hopes of immediate remedial action, but in 1943 it became necessary to fight not merely for the relief but also for the very freedom of the sick:—

"When a worker or salaried employee falls sick in these days, the family income is frequently cut off for the period of the breadwinner's illness, and there are always inadequate facilities for the treatment of patients by hospitals and doctors. To meet the lack of income and the need for treatment, a number of National Health Insurance schemes have been proposed. All are complicated and involved, and require the closest and most critical examination by workers and their representatives in Parliament.

"Wages in Australia have never been high enough to cover periods of sickness, and most workers are to-day simply not in a position to meet all the costs of illness overtaking a family and its breadwinner.

"The restoration of property to the people is, of course, the only permanent solution, but in the meantime it is essential that something should be done by the Government to ensure that, when a breadwinner falls ill, the family income is kept up. This can be done if the Government indemnifies employers for wages paid to sick employees. The Government can raise the money for this purpose either by compelling all workers and employees to contribute to a health insurance fund or by compelling all taxpayers to pay increased taxation.

"The 'C.W.' believes that money for national health insurance should be raised by the direct taxation of those best able to bear it; and consequently declares its opposition to any compulsory form of national health insurance by employers and employees. Income taxation should be scaled and graduated in such a way as to encourage and not penalise those workers who make some private provision through lodges and benefit societies against the contingencies of sickness and ill-health.

"It is also necessary for the Governments, State and Federal, to make special provision, out of direct taxation, for the training of a very large number of additional doctors and nurses and for the erection of many more hospitals and sanatoria. It is utterly undesirable that either the medical profession or the hospital system should be nationalised. All the people need can be summed up in a few words: more doctors, more nurses, more hospitals, and the money to meet the necessary fees and charges.

"If doctors were to become the paid employees of public departments, the intimate personal relationship between patient and physician would be forever destroyed. Nationalisation of the medical profession is one of the worst forms of Fascism. We oppose it with all our might.

"The nationalisation of hospitals in a community of mixed religious beliefs or even in a community of unified religious belief would be a definitely retrograde step. Many people who support nationalisation do so because they wish to be in a position to exclude all religious influences from the sick beds of the poor. The Government should subsidise on a really lavish scale all those groups of citizens who wish to combine for the purpose of being hospitalised, when the need for it arises, in an institution managed by people of their own faith and outlook.

"Whatever provision the Government ultimately makes to meet the needs of the sick, workers must retain the right to consult a doctor of their own choice and enter a hospital of their own selection. These two last proposals are our minimum demands."—(November, 1943.)

5.—THE BEVERIDGE PLAN.

And then, in 1943, came from England the Beveridge plan.

"The press of England sounded a pæan of praise on the publication of the Beveridge Plan. So did our press when the Commonwealth Government announced its intention to introduce a similar scheme here.

"That the propaganda organs of monopoly and great power welcome these schemes proves that no such scheme will permanently restore to men that economic liberty and independence which are essential to the life of man.

"The 'C.W.' does not oppose the actual introduction of social services into the community to-day. We accept them as patching the social framework until major reforms can be accomplished; but to introduce a mass of social services and at the same time declare you are going to reform society basically is like suggesting that you are going to cure a sick little boy by giving him a thousand aniseed balls.

"To restore economic health to society, to make of man a free and independent being, to lift him from the state of wage slavery, it is necessary that each man, not powerful groups of individuals, should own property and have control over the instruments of pro-

duction whereby his living is earned. It is either the State or the individual that has power over the life of all the people. We prefer that the people should control their own affairs.

"Let it also be clearly borne in mind that particular social services are dependent upon the whim of particular Governments. What Australia to-day needs is radical reforms, the enshrinement in the constitution of fully evolved principles, whereby man may attain to the ownership of a measure of property and control over the means whereby he lives.

"The internal scene of the nations which men call democracies, in particular Australia and England, is now set for a mighty battle between the advocates of State socialism and monopolistic combination on the one hand, and on the other a relatively small band to which the 'C.W.' belongs. We fight for liberty by restoring property not to a few powerful groups, but to the majority of the people. The forces have been manœuvring for the past generation—the battle will be fought to a finish in our life-time."—(*January, 1943.*)

CHAPTER IX.

The Law and Liberty

1. *THE LAW ABOVE THE LAW.*
2. *THE NEW DESPOTISM.*
3. *THE FUTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION.*
4. *MONEY AND THE LAW.*

Throughout its history the "Catholic Worker" has fought with unswerving vigour against the onrush of the Servile State. This matter is tackled in many aspects in the chapter on Property, but it has one manifestation in the assumption by the State of absolute powers.

1.—THE LAW ABOVE THE LAW.

"For the past generation Australian Christian workers have lived under a Federal Constitution which divided the power of governing between seven Parliaments, subject to the over-riding authority of the British Cabinet and the international financier. From many points of view—political, executive and judicial—Australia lacked the machinery for efficient government.

"Under the stress of war, however, the Commonwealth Government has taken to itself, subject, perhaps, to a few vague constitutional limitations, complete power over the lives and property of the Australian people. In theory, Australia has to-day become a totalitarian country like Russia, Germany, Italy or Britain. Whether Australia becomes in fact and practice a totalitarian country depends chiefly on the manner in which and the extent to which the politicians exercise the vast powers they hold. The politicians **MAY** control us **TOTALLY**.

"It has thus become a matter of supreme importance that only men whom workers and Christians trust should hold high political office in the community. For, in exercising political power in a totalitarian State, politicians may in future destroy those institutions and those rights in whose maintenance Christian workers have an urgent, vital and personal interest.

"Even in war-time, the politician has too much power, and it may become necessary, sooner or later, for Christian workers to agitate for a New Constitution, which will guarantee the effective maintenance, even in war-time, of inalienable human and social rights.

"There is a Divine Law-Giver higher than any parliamentary or departmental law-giver. There is a Law higher than any human law, surpassing in moral force any Act of Parliament and any Executive Regulation.

"This Law, which is not to be inferred from cases decided in the courts, may nevertheless be inferred from the nature of men

and women, from the nature of the families they form and the children they breed, and from the nature of the institutions men build to ensure the Common Good of the whole community.

"This Law, which is deduced by the human mind from the stuff and substance of human society, is the Natural Law, and the rights and duties which form part of it are inalienable natural rights and inescapable natural duties. No Government can light-heartedly 'abrogate' any such right by Act or Regulation. Even if it attempted to do so, in the minds of men, the Right would remain and ultimately would be vindicated.

"This Natural Law, which the great pagans of olden time observed, is in origin Divine. It comes, like life, from God. And though it is apprehended by the human reason, it exists in nature independently of human observation. It is this natural law to which all workers should turn in the struggle that will one day come—the struggle for the recognition of elementary human rights.

"It is a Law which is supplemented and completed and perfected by that other Law which the Man Christ, Who was and is God, came on earth to reveal two thousand years ago.

"And so it is that in an age when most, if not all, legal checks to the absolute power of politicians have been removed, we appeal to the Law of God, revealed by the nature of things or the Person of Christ, as the one essential guarantor of the rights of Christian workers.

"Thus, while the natural law concedes to the Government as a last resort the right to demand the lives of citizens for the purpose of waging a just defensive war, the natural law requires the Government to concede to citizens while they live certain primary human rights.

"Of these, the chief and foremost is the right of a citizen to live his life in society according to the natural law. This right protects the essential interests of both the body and the soul of the worker. It embraces his right to practice the Christian Faith fully, to teach the Christian Faith to his children, and to have others teach the Christian Faith to men. It completely covers his right to live a full Christian life.

"It embraces, moreover, a whole group of rights to indispensable temporal things—the right to work at a decent wage, the right to continuity of employment, the right to decent working conditions, the right to family endowment, the right of access to productive property.

"For the individual and the family, the Natural Law prescribes liberty and a minimum of social power.

"To Christian workers, the Natural Law accords, as it accords to all, the right to associate in religious organisations and in trade unions respectively for the promotion of the Christian Faith and of social justice.

"To the Church and to the Industrial Movement, the Natural Law accords not only the right of organising individuals in association, but also the right to own and control whatever property and

the right to enjoy whatever liberty may be necessary for the objects for which citizens group themselves, whether as workers or as Christians.

"It is to the Natural Law that all must now turn in the fight for human rights and human liberties. When all Australians understand its principles, the liberties of the Christian Church and the working-class movements will be assured.

"If Australians do not quickly learn the principles of the Natural Law, Australia will become a land in which power is abused by groups backed by force and from which the light of liberty will have disappeared forever.

"There can be no Armistice in the Fight for Right!"—(*July, 1940.*)

2.—THE NEW DESPOTISM.

"It is inevitable in war-time that the Government should exert a measure of power and control over the community that would be intolerable in peace. It is necessarily right that that control be strict, in relation to the military forces. In addition, there must be discipline in the civilian community.

"But the State has no right, except in the last throes of a desperate national emergency, to assume control over all the living rights of all its citizens, be they soldiers or civilians.

"The now firmly entrenched Australian bureaucrats have perpetrated on the community several impudent and outrageous actions.

"In the first place, there are the activities of the officers of Man-power Directorate. Honest, plain-living citizens enjoying in peace their glass of beer on Saturday afternoons have been set upon by swooping and snooping Man-power officials, who would impudently dictate to them their war-time duties. Our community has descended to a pretty low level when individuals can enter a Government department, assume the robes of power, and endeavour to dictate to all and sundry methods of social behaviour.

"Secondly, there is the action of responsible officers of the Allied Works, who recently took a Union Secretary in the small hours of the morning, and rushed him from his home to a prison house.

"Furthermore, officials have talked recently about the necessity to press into service homes and houses in which families are already living. There is no need for this action, the Government has the remedy at its beck and call: if it would but take a long range view of the present struggle, it would immediately apportion the necessary materials and man-power for the building of homes so necessary to the Australian community.

"All these things demonstrate that our bureaucracy recognises no law. It has made itself supreme over the people, and shortly we will have left nothing but the remnants of the liberties which we once cherished."—(*June, 1943.*)

These things were said because bureaucracy was on the make, and unless great vigilance were to be maintained, the totalitarian powers claimed to prosecute the war successfully would be retained to murder the peace.

"Men steeped in the power that bureaucracy gives will be unwilling to lightly relinquish their hold. Thus is the way paved for State ownership of all the essentials of life, and the servile State will have become a reality."—(November, 1942.)

"Great is the danger when men who have dominated Australian industry in the past are being given great administrative power—men who have often come to grips with the Australian people because they preferred profits to social justice.

"The strictures made on this development were not unreasonable, for we said, 'Criticism is everywhere hesitant because all know the gravity of the situation,' but there was an insistence that 'The Government must control.'

"Like other public servants, the experts should sever as far as possible their connections with big business, because their own companies will be the ones supplying the Government with war materials, and receive a salary from the Government.

"If complete severance is impracticable, the Government should insist that all moneys received by the experts from their business interests should be invested in war savings certificates, or, better still, given to the Government free of interest.

"The Australian people must be guaranteed that when the Government desires to re-assume control over industry, it will be able to do so, that it will not find that it has sold to big business the future development of Australia.

"If we must have totalitarianism, it is essential that the policy of Australia remain in the hands of the elected representatives. Without any desire to hinder every necessary effort to improve Australia's defences, we say that the principles at stake in this matter are too great to be left in the hands of private business men. Let them do the work by all means if they are the best men, but let them do so under the control of the Government. A blank cheque spells danger."—(July, 1940.)

"The menace of bureaucracy was never more clearly illustrated than in the order by the Director-General of Man-power, in effect giving to military police the power to make civilians produce their identity cards.

"We declared that 'It is wrong that one bureaucrat should have the power to impose a kind of martial law on freedom loving Australians without even any reference to his Minister or to any of the elected rulers of the people, much less to Parliament.'"—(July, 1943.)

3.—THE FUTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION.

"Twelve months ago, Dr. H. V. Evatt, K.C., M.P., Attorney-General for the Commonwealth, presented several alternative proposals for amending the Commonwealth Constitution.

"Dr. Evatt's proposals had one thing in common, each purported to increase temporarily or permanently the legislative power of the Commonwealth with the laudable object of enabling the Federal Authority to deal adequately with the pressing problems of the post-war period.

"In modern society, Christian citizens exercise two capacities; sometimes they act exclusively in their capacity as citizens whose mental points of reference are specifically Christian, at other times they act exclusively in their capacity as Christians.

"Now, the intelligent Christian holds that, as the power of the Government is, morally speaking, not without limits, there should be incorporated into the Constitution a series of clear, specific, unequivocal guarantees of religious freedom.

"The Christian holds that these should be made enforceable against the supreme law-making authority by the supreme law-interpreting authority.

"In Australia, this means that the High Court should protect the people against the assumption of absolute and tyrannical power by the Parliament of the day.

"Now the Constitutions of the several States and, to a lesser extent, the Constitution of the Commonwealth, fail to make adequate provision for the maintenance of fundamental religious and civil liberties.

"On the other hand, all the local Constitutions equally fail to give the seven Parliaments, singly or severally, adequate power to promote justice.

"Christian citizens, in their capacity as citizens, differ on what action should be taken to enable Australian law-givers to deal fittingly with post-war problems.

"Some Christians, especially in the outlying States, hold that, subject to the doctrine of religious guarantees, it would be best to transfer all ordinary political authority to the State Parliaments.

"Some Christians, particularly those in Victoria, hold that, subject to the doctrine of religious guarantees, the Commonwealth Parliament alone should be the repository of all ordinary political authority.

"Other Christians, and these perhaps are in the majority, hold that, subject to the doctrine of religious guarantees, all that is now required is a temporary re-division of political power between the States and the Commonwealth, pending a full investigation of constitutional issues after the war.

"Our own views were long ago placed before Dr. Evatt. We have made it clear that we believe it necessary to attribute to the Commonwealth Parliament certain specific, additional, limited powers to meet post-war emergencies. It is for the Commonwealth Parliament to define precisely the powers it desires—the people will grant or transfer them if they are really required.

"But Dr. Evatt will find in the ranks of Christian workers an unsuspected measure of good-will and of generous support if only he will take the initiative in incorporating into the new constitutional

document specific guarantees of religious and social freedom enforceable by the High Court.

"In assuming new powers, the Federal Parliament must legally ensure the liberty of the Christian Church and of Christian schools and institutions.

"Equally it must guarantee the freedom of trades unions, political parties and social organisations. The Christian Church and the industrial union must be guaranteed the right to own such property as is necessary for the fulfilment of their respective missions.

"The minimum standard which the High Court might properly be asked to apply in this connection would comprise at least those rights actually enjoyed by Church and Union before the outbreak of war in 1939."—(*October, 1943.*)

4.—MONEY AND THE LAW.

In September and October, 1938, there were signs of the impact of an economic depression. In the course of a campaign for a more liberal financial policy, the "C.W." re-stated its banking and credit policy:—

"The 'C.W.'s' September appeal for urgent Government action to avoid economic depression has met with a ready response from tens of thousands of readers throughout the Commonwealth. The last depression left its imprint on the minds and bodies of a whole generation, and the people still remember. It is clear, abundantly clear, that it will not again be possible for Australian economists, however well-meaning, or for Australian politicians, however sincere, to obtain public support for another Premiers' Plan. If depression recurs, Australians will not listen to any idle talk of 'equality of sacrifice': they may well demand a revolution, and that, not the revolution that Christians seek, but a revolution disrupting the whole social order. In the national interest, in the social interest, Governments and Commonwealth Governments especially, must take action to avoid depression. They must purify the blood-stream of the social organism now: it will be useless to apply splints and sticking plaster to the body politic then.

"As we have already pointed out, Australia is at present a dependent economy: dependent even for its partial and limited prosperity on the ability of our producers to find markets overseas for wheat and wool. Such dependence must in future not be permitted to be the chief feature of the national economy; for it means that the nation is placed at the mercy of international financiers, whose policy means inevitably the recurrence of depression. If we cannot control their policy, we must, as far as Australia is concerned, seek to restrict or to eliminate its consequences.

"We must also make ourselves at least relatively independent of the dictatorship of finance-capital within Australia. For too long the chief effect of the policy of Australian capitalists and financiers has been to direct too great a proportion of the national economic effort to the production of wealth which is not immediately con-

sumed, like houses and trousers, but which is used for further production, like machines and factories. Over-production has faced the producer; under-consumption has been the unfortunate lot of the consumer: an evil flowing from the shortage of purchasing power, the dearth of money and credit, and the unfair allocation of the national income. The over-capitalisation of the boot and mining industries leaps to the mind. Already the dark hand of depression has fallen on those two industries; and unless a new monetary and credit policy is formulated and the present maldistribution of property and income ended, that hand may seize the nation by the throat.

"Properly understood and intelligently applied, the doctrine of the Family Living Wage due to all male adults, married and single, would prevent too great a share of the national income falling to those who own. But it is not likely that such a wage will be paid until Governments break up the great masses of Land and Capital, and make all workers owners. Such a redistribution of property will prevent too great an accumulation of capital in too small a number of hands. But such a redistribution of property, restoring ownership to the workers, depends in turn upon the willingness of Governments to impose high taxation upon large incomes and large holdings, and to grant fiscal concessions by way of encouraging small ownership.

"Were the maldistribution of property and income to be ended and the right distribution of both established, the new economy would not be made secure, and recurrent depressions would not be avoided unless Governments made provision for the planning of our economic and industrial life. In only one way and under only one system of planning can the conflicting elements within the social organism be reconciled: the system of planning along the lines of the old Guilds or the modern Vocational Groups. Boards representative of workers, owner-workers and owners, must be called into existence to plan the development of the several industries, primary and secondary. Only in the Guild or Vocational Group System can the interests of economics and democracy be brought into harmony: the return to the principles of the Guild is an advance towards industrial democracy.

"It is clear, then, that planning to avoid depression is, in fact, inseparable from planning for the enforcement of the living wage, for the restoration and redistribution of property and the building up of the Guild Social Order.

"But to such planning there remains one obstacle, the accumulation and concentration (to use the words of the present Pope) of wealth and immense power in the hands of a few, who, because they hold and control money, are able also to govern credit and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying the life-blood to the entire economic body and grasping in their hands the very soul of production.

"There can be no doubt that it is idle to talk of the application of our social principles so long as private bankers retain the power to dictate the programmes and policies of Governments. The Federal Government must be given the authority to determine the monetary

and credit policy of the Commonwealth. The Federal Government could, in fact, obtain and exercise that authority without taking steps to nationalise the private banks; the private banks could conceivably be the instruments by which a Federal Government implemented its policy. But, in view of the record of private banking institutions, it seems certain that they would do their best to sabotage and not to implement any really radical change in monetary and credit policy. In order that in these matters the authority of the Government may not be challenged, it is essential that the private banks should be nationalised. In itself, nationalisation, which means no more than a change of ownership, will not involve the formation of a new monetary and credit policy. But it will provide the means by which such a policy, once formulated, can be executed. Although it may also provide the means by which other policies, such as economic communism, can also be executed, we support nationalisation of the banking industry as a necessary and indispensable means of giving Governments and industries the power of planning to avoid depression by adopting our policy.

"One final point, to many perhaps the most important, in this review of correspondence arising out of our September leader: whether or no the banks are nationalised, the 'C.W.' is firmly convinced that money must be multiplied and credit expanded if the community is ever to purchase the goods it produces. To what extent the means of exchange should be increased is a matter for experts to determine; but, unless some action is readily taken to end the mad race of the nation into debt and the stupid submission of our people to the interests of private banking combines, the recurrence of economic depression will not be prevented and the attainment of a just social order may be rendered impossible."—
(October, 1938.)

A liberal financial policy, marred, however, by the perpetuation of interest and indebtedness, has enabled the Government to stave off a depression while waging the war. It will be necessary to ensure in the post-war era that a radical credit policy is adopted, which will not plunge the nation into debt, and which will restore real purchasing power to the people.

CHAPTER X.

Industrial Unionism

1. THE REFORM OF THE UNIONS.
2. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.
3. SUPPORT IN THE STRUGGLE.

The primary matter to note is that "when Pope Leo XIII., in 1891, recognised the right to form unions, he was considered by many to be ridiculously in advance of his times. Apparently he was, as far as one great 'progressive' democracy is concerned."

1.—THE REFORM OF THE UNIONS.

"In these last years the question of compulsory unionism has been a vital one on the industrial front.

"Following the lead given by the Popes, Australian Catholics for many generations past have fought unceasingly for the case of trades unionism.

"When the story of the Australian Trades Union movement is adequately recorded by an impartial historian, we believe that the community will recognise that one of the most notable contributions to working-class theory was made by Catholic sociologists, and that in the practical field few people did more work for unionism without reward than the sons and grandsons of the Irish Catholic immigrants to Australia.

"According to Webb, a trades union is defined 'as a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment.' However, Chesterton maintained that a trades union was essentially a league of workers without property struggling for justice against people with property.

"In this respect, the trades union is utterly unlike the guild of mediæval times, for it was essentially a union of workers owning their own capital and combining for the social regulation of their work and industry. The modern trades union struggles for a measure of justice not only against a diminishing body of employers and capitalists, but increasingly against the politicians and bureaucrats who are now running industry. As the State takes over industries, the function of the trades union changes.

"However, the most significant change in unionism is this: Some union leaders are no longer exclusively concerned with raising funds and unifying workers for the purpose of raising wages, shortening hours and improving conditions, but are actively engaged in using union funds to further internal and international political objectives, repudiated in practice by at least half and probably two-thirds of the membership of the unions. Some unions have, in fact, been captured by racketeers.

Now, it is right and proper for workers—it is even the duty of workers—to join unions which concern themselves with wages, hours and conditions and in other matters abjure politics and un-Christian political theories and methods. But it is idle to ask us to compel workers to join a union which imposes levies for objects of which the conscience of the average worker, or of any worker, disapproves.

"If membership of trades unions is to be made compulsory, then it is the duty of the Government to protect the great majority of unionists from those who abuse unionism. If compulsion is to be the order of the day, there is a strong case for having compulsory secret ballots under State control on all questions of vital moment. There is a case for rejecting the compulsory political levy and making it optional. There is a case for the Government audit of union funds.

"We see no reason, however, why the non-unionist should have any legal right to secure the benefits obtained for him by workers who are unionists. Those who do not bear the burden should not reap the harvest.

"If and when the trades unions of Australia cease to support with union funds political and cultural bodies rejected by a large number of their members, there will be a case for compulsory trades-unionism. At present, the case for compulsion is weakened by abuses that occur daily.

"These could, of course, be remedied by a thorough-going measure of State control of unions, but such control would probably bring with it evils far outweighing present incidental injustices. A totalitarian State might control the unions out of existence. A Communist State would make the unions instruments of a godless party dictatorship.

"Unionism will have much greater force, will renew its old triumphs and restore the energies of the workers, if it remains a voluntary association of workers.

"Workers, join your unions, support your unions, clean up your unions, strengthen and revivify your unions! A good union is an unshakeable pillar of human society: a bad union is a cancerous ulcer poisoning the life-blood of the labour movement. Make your unions good and make them strong."—(November, 1942.)

2.—THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

In all cases where it was felt that the cause at issue was just, the "C.W." was ready to back the Australian worker in his fight. Australian miners will not forget the support we gave them in time past.

"A Just Strike would seem to have the following characteristics:—

"1. It is called on account of a just grievance, with no malicious intent.

"2. Peaceful methods of arbitration must have failed, and no other solution be found possible.

"3. It must not involve violence or the destruction of property.

"4. The benefits expected to result from it must exceed the damage caused.

"5. There must be a reasonable hope of success, or at least of ultimate advantage to the striker.

"A sympathetic strike takes place where workers refuse to work for their employer, against whom they have no grievance, in support of other workers who are striking. If the original strike is unjust, the sympathetic strike would, of course, be unjust also: If the original strike seemed justified, the circumstances of the case would determine whether or not the sympathetic strike was likewise just."—*(April, 1940.)*

3.—SUPPORT IN THE STRUGGLE.

We supported Australian workers when they struck against the union smashers at work in the Commonwealth Aircraft Factory; we said:—

"The support of the Australian working class goes out to the engineers who have gone on strike rather than submit to the new award of the Arbitration Court covering workers in the aircraft factory at Fishermen's Bend. The support which has been accorded to these employees of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation by engineers throughout Australia shows that in the new award the engineers see a blow aimed against their living conditions, and a blow against the union organisation which has been responsible for the securing of those conditions.

"The claims of the men, as stated by the organiser of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (Mr. Roberts) are directed against the breaking down of hard-won conditions for which the new award opens the way, and against the attacks on the principle of collective bargaining which underlies the attitude of the Commonwealth Aircraft Corporation."—*(September 3, 1938.)*

In the course of war we supported Australian workers who were demanding redress against just grievances:—

"Workers throughout Australia are at present demanding a redress of their just grievances.

"The politicians of all parties have promised—they will promise anything—that after the war is over everything will be beautiful. There will be food and security for all.

"The workers, however, remain unconvinced. They remember the promises that were made in the last war, and they also remember the capitalist manufactured depression of the early 30's, when thousands were without sufficient food and clothing or housing. They demand an instalment of the 'New Order' now, and they are going to fight to get it. As the Right Reverend William E. Brown, Bishop of Pella, wrote:

"If there is to be a New Order, then all must make sacrifices, especially those who are, in popular opinion, well off. So far, I see no signs of any fundamental changes in the way of living of the well-off, except those enforced by the State. Trades Unions may be this and that, but can anyone believe that without combination the industrial classes would have existing conditions of work and rates of wages?

"When I hear of the well-off giving up cars, expensive holidays, and other things they enjoy, in order to pay their domestics better wages, I shall begin to believe we are nearing the 'dawn of the New Era.' Till then I do not expect to see much change, except what the workers can compel by organisation and agitation. In spite of all the fine things said and written, the lot of the charwoman remained the same after as before the Great War.'

"To-day there is more than sufficient for everybody, but thousands are still starving. Look at the slums in every capital city of the Commonwealth from Brisbane to Perth, and one may see thousands of men, women and children undernourished and badly housed. Yet at the same time mammoth bank buildings are being erected to house the money-changers. At the same time plans are being prepared to store the food which cannot be exported when it could be consumed in Australia."—(May, 1941.)

At the same time we were not slow to point out that in our national crisis, strikes should only be used as a last resort:—

"In his great encyclical, 'Rerum Novarum,' Pope Leo XIII. recognised and allowed the worker in any particular industry the right to strike. This right is fundamental and permissible when there is a legitimate grievance—usually about wages or conditions.

"However, the Pope also recognises the great inconvenience caused on such occasions, including the danger of violence and disorder, which frequently result in the disruption of public peace, and hardship to strikers and their families.

"When we remember that it is a primary aim of Communists to promote civil strife, it is not difficult to see how strikes can provide them with the opportunity they require. Especially is this so when a particular strike involves many thousands of workers.

"The dictates of social justice apply even in war-time, but workers and owners should have exhausted every avenue before a strike or a lock-out has to be resorted to, even if it means a less favourable settlement to one side or the other.

"Already thousands of working days have been lost as a result of strikes and stoppages, and for a nation whose plight is serious these delays might well prove fatal if persisted in.

"Employers must play the game. There should be no unjust claims on the workers on the ground of national emergency. A genuine desire by employers to secure the maximum output in accordance with justice is what is needed. Too many minor matters

are causing serious dislocation of trade when they could easily be settled by reference to arbitration tribunals.

"These tribunals have been so improved that any industry feeling itself aggrieved is guaranteed immediate hearing of its claims. Provided a just settlement can be reached by the bodies set up for the purpose, they should be resorted to. Yet to-day we find disruption in many industries essential to our country's defence and no effort is made to secure adjudication by the proper authority.

"In such a situation the Federal Government will be compelled to take direct action to secure a continuance of work and output. However, it is more satisfactory that industry should solve its own disputes.

"The Government has provided the necessary tribunals, and a dangerous precedent is created if it has to be called in to exercise coercion."—(February, 1942.)

These last articles are typical of hundreds written by unionists on the "C.W." Central Committee in support of the efforts of the unions to improve wages, hours and working conditions in Australia.

CHAPTER XI.

Communism

1. "CATHOLIC WORKER" AND COMMUNISM.
2. COMMUNISM AND FREEDOM.
3. THE CLASS WAR.
4. MILITANT MARXIST-LENINISM.
5. THE SPIRITUAL ISSUE.
6. HOW TO MAKE A COMMUNIST.
7. THE CONVERSION OF COMMUNISTS.

1.—"CATHOLIC WORKER" AND COMMUNISM.

In 1936, scarcely had we seen the light of day, when we were attacked:—

"The Communists have accused us of being a weapon forged by the Catholic Church to defend Capitalism. They have accused us, with the usual Communist disregard of truth, of having as our primary objective the smashing of the Communist Party. They have accused us of a deliberate attempt to blind the working classes, so that they may not see the utter vileness of the system which to-day oppresses them.

"The Communists lie!

"We do not regard the Communist Party as our chief opponent. We would not have wasted our time and our money merely to make an attack on the petty, middle-class clique of which it is composed. Communism will sink under the weight of its own falsity, its own materialism, and its own consistent betrayal of the interests of the working class. Communism is NOT our great adversary. The exalted position of Public Enemy No. 1 is reserved for Capitalism, not because it is a system which is intrinsically more evil than Communism—they are both equally false, and equally fatal to human personality—but because to-day it dominates the world."—(*February 29th, 1936.*)

2.—COMMUNISM AND FREEDOM.

"Communists are ever ready to pay lip service to the cause of freedom. They are loud in their protestations of their belief in the fundamental sanctity of our civil liberties, and they are equally loud in their mouthings of 'Fascism' whenever any attempt is made to put a curb on their disruptive utterances.

"Lenin is at great pains to explain ('The State and Revolution,' p. 28), that a Marxist is one who 'extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the prole-

tariat.' Those who repudiate this doctrine are characterised as 'miserable philistines and petty bourgeois democrats.'

"The proletariat needs State power,' he says, 'the central organisation of force, the organisation of violence for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters.'

"Stalin is equally emphatic about the necessity for the dictatorship of the proletariat and all that it implies, and he adds the consoling thought that 'we must regard it (the dictatorship of the proletariat) not as a fleeting period replete with super-revolutionary deeds and decrees, but as an entire historical epoch full of civil wars and external conflicts.'

"This historical epoch,' he goes on, 'is necessary not only in order to create the economic and cultural prerequisites for the complete victory of socialism, but also in order to enable the proletariat, first, to educate itself and become steeled into a force capable of governing the country; secondly, to re-educate and re-mould the petty bourgeois strata along such lines as will assure the organisation of be intensified.' ('Foundations of Leninism,' p. 66.)

"Just how much freedom and liberty would flourish during that epoch can well be imagined; and just how gentle and persuasive would be the process of 're-educating and re-moulding the petty-bourgeois strata' can be judged by reference to Stalin's own definition of the force that is to carry out this process: 'The dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses.' ('Foundations of Leninism,' p. 33.)

"This insistence on the absolute elimination of all opposition runs like a red thread through all the works of the principal exponents of Marxist-Leninist theory.

"There is no room for freedom in the Communist creed. It will brook no rival. It offers liberty only to those who profess its soulless doctrines. Under its regime, according to Marx, as quoted in a recent issue of the 'Communist Review,' 'the weapon of criticism gives place to the criticism of weapons.'—(August, 1943.)

"Lenin himself said that liberty of opinion was like an empty barrel rolling down a hill. It made more noise than a full one, but it was useless. The new rights which have recently been granted in Russia as a publicity move to help the Popular Front tactic inaugurated at the last meeting of the Comintern, constitute a very different kind of liberty from that which the Communists enjoy here. Freedom of speech and press and of meetings and possessions are granted 'in conformity with the interests of the workers, and to consolidate the socialist regime.' Anyone can see that this does not give the Russians any more freedom than is allowed to the Germans and Italians and Mexicans. Many Australian 'pinks' would soon find themselves in Siberia if they stayed long in Russia. The new decree is merely words.

"Do not the Communists know that the Pope condemned the Fascist oath as originally formulated, in the encyclical, 'Ubi Arcano,' and that the Pope clashed with Mussolini on the question of Catholic

Action, and that he has never uttered a single word in praise of Fascism as a form of Government? Do they not know that no institution in the world has striven more for justice for workers than the Papacy, and that Catholic organisations have sprung up in every country in the world—except Russia and Mexico, where they are banned—to try and give effect to the teachings of the Pope? They know all right, but with their usual disregard of any ethics whatsoever, they endeavour to blind the people of every country with the lie that the Church is Fascist and as such the enemy of the Labour cause. And to further the class war they profess themselves supporters of liberty, democracy and peace, when their ends are tyranny, the totalitarian State and civil war. They have shown in Spain and Mexico what kind of people they really are.”—(*November, 1936.*)

3.—THE CLASS WAR.

“The Church teaches rightly that Capital and Labour should collaborate in the building up of a new social order. The Church, moreover, teaches that all classes should co-operate in the struggle for justice.

“In other words, the Church teaches that it is the duty of the several members of the several classes to obey the moral law, to respect human rights and the human person and the human soul—in short, to obey God and His moral law.

“Catholics, of course, reject the notion of class-war insofar as it connotes the idea of desirable social conflict from which the Marxist Utopia is to emerge covered in blood and horror. But Catholics do not deny that in a pagan society there does exist a foul and abominable conflict of one class against another. Nor do Catholics contend that for this war workers and the working-class are to blame.

“Indeed, notwithstanding the fact that Pope Leo the Thirteenth’s Letter on Labour is called the Encyclical on “The Condition of the Working Classes,” some strange Catholics object to our using the words ‘working class.’ The words might be used once or twice in an issue. But people say, in all good nature, that merely to describe the mass of industrial workers as the ‘working class,’ merely to take for granted ‘class-consciousness’—one’s awareness of belonging to the working class—smacks of Communism and the class-war.

“It is high time these people looked at the world about them and examined the toiling crowds who throng the city churches Sunday after Sunday. Here they would see the working masses at Mass. They would see them proud of their comradeship, proud of their brotherhood—a real brotherhood in Christ.

“Pope Leo XIII. saw the workers as a class. He saw them conscious of their misery. He himself was conscious of their misery. He saw that ‘a small number of very rich men had been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.’

"Pope Pius XI., in "Quadragesimo Anno," saw human society divided—the interests of one class set against the rights of another. In the very third paragraph of his Encyclical, he said:—

"Towards the close of the nineteenth century the new economic methods and the new development of industry had sprung into being in almost all civilised nations, and had made such headway that human society appeared more and more divided into two classes. The first, small in numbers, enjoyed practically all the comforts so plentifully supplied by modern invention; the second class, comprising the immense multitude of working men, was made up of those who, oppressed by dire poverty, struggled in vain to escape from the straits which encompassed them."

"It is therefore right to acknowledge the existence of the working class and the fact of the conflict or war of classes. It is good to be proud of belonging to the working class."

"Indeed, if we follow the lead of Canon Joseph Cardijn, Catholics will make all workers class-conscious in Christ. They will, so to speak, baptise the concept and the loyalty of workers to their class. And they will make of the working class, not an instrument of civil war, but a holy army fighting not for selfish class-interests, but for justice in a sacred crusade."—(*April, 1941.*)

4.—MILITANT MARXIST-LENINISM.

"'Reformism is being pushed out of the Trade Unions, and militant Marxism-Leninism is taking its place.'

"Thus boasts Thornton (Gen. Sec. Federated Ironworkers' Association) in the March issue of 'The Communist Review.' In the same issue Harry Gould urges the necessity of party members fully understanding Marxist-Leninist theory. 'Without correct theory there can be no correct practice.'

"What is this theory that is capturing the unions? It is the theory that the State cannot be reformed, but must be smashed by a violent revolution. 'The substitution of the proletarian State for the bourgeois State is impossible without a violent revolution' says Lenin ('The State and Revolution,' p. 19).

"And lest there be any doubt as to what he means he quotes with approval Engels' definition of revolution. 'It is,' he says, 'the act whereby one part of the population imposes its will on the other part by means of rifles, bayonet and cannon. And the victorious party, if it does not wish to have fought in vain, must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries.' (Ibid. p. 48).

"This is the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship which, to quote Lenin again, 'is the fiercest, most active and merciless war of the new class against the more powerful enemy—a persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and

traditions of the old society.' (Stalin, 'The Foundations of Leninism,' p. 31.)

"Both Lenin and Stalin pour contempt on members of the Second International who thought that revolution could be repudiated and their aims achieved by a gradual process. Such an idea is described by Lenin as 'an emasculation of Marxism' ('The State and Rev.,' p. 15). Therefore, Thornton, being a true follower of Marx and Lenin, declares that Communists and their supporters have fought an uphill fight against reformism in the decade prior to the war.

"But, though the Communists fight reform and despise those who make it, rather than revolution, their aim, they will utilise any reforms that suit their purpose.

"'The Revolutionary,' says Stalin, 'will accept a reform in order to use it as a means to link legal work with illegal, in order to use it as a screen behind which his illegal activities for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie may be intensified.' ('Foundations of Leninism,' p. 66.)

"So too with Trades Unions. Lenin is at great pains to explain that though unsatisfactory in many ways, Trades Unions have represented a big step forward and that they are a 'necessary school of Communism, a preparatory school for training the proletariat to exercise its dictatorship.' ('Left Wing Communism,' Chapt. VI.)

"From this it follows that it is of the utmost importance for the Communists to capture the Unions. In the achievement of this object there is only one test to be applied—will it further the ends of the party? Not only must Communists be prepared to overcome any resistance they may encounter, but they must, declares Lenin, be prepared, 'if needs be, to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs.' ('Left Wing Communism,' p. 38.)

"Such are the Marxist-Leninist teachings whose application Thornton urges to the problems in the unions.

"Christian workers, beware. It is not for nothing that the Communist salute is the clenched fist."—(*May, 1943.*)

"Australian workers will not easily forget the words of John McGovern, M.P., one of Britain's most radical working class leaders, who said of the Popular Front:—

"'When the simple appeal of the Popular Front is made,' said McGovern, 'remember that behind it are the gunmen, firing squads, machine-guns, knuckle-dusters, leaded batons, steel cages, chains and handcuffs, a lying propaganda machine that destroys the characters of men and women, cemeteries of dead bodies in Spain and Russia.' (*April, 1940.*)

5.—THE SPIRITUAL ISSUE.

"We will grapple with the Lord God in due season. We shall vanquish Him in His highest heaven."—Zinoviev, 1924.

"The true nature of Communism was clearly explained by the late Pope Pius XI., in his famous Encyclical, 'Divini Redemptoris.' He said, 'According to this doctrine (of Communism) there is in the world only one reality, matter, the blind forces of which evolve into plant, animal and man. Even human society is nothing but a phenomenon and form of matter evolving in the same way.

"By a law of inexorable necessity and through a perpetual conflict of forces, matter moves towards the final synthesis of a classless society'

"In such a doctrine there is no room for the idea of God; there is no difference between soul and body; there are no natural rights and men become mere cogs in a machine driven by the blind force of matter. It is rank materialism.

"Such a system is opposed both to reason and to divine Revelation, for if the idea of God is torn from the hearts of men they are of necessity urged by their passions to the most atrocious barbarity."—(July, 1942.)

"We can respect Communists for their sincerity and their criticism of the western world, and for the fact that they are not deceived by the sham and hypocrisy which governs it. They know the train is off the rails no matter how many times we are told that prosperity is round the corner. The corner has turned out to be a crescent—we always get back to another place on the same road of exploitation and greed, though for a time we fail to recognise our new surroundings for what they are. They know also that the rails were rusty from the start with unlicensed individualism which has led to avarice, which has led to dislocation.

"The Communist, however, wants to organise the greed, to make it collective rather than individual, public rather than private. Ghandi has said that 'Communism is self-indulgence.' By this he meant that the main aim of the Communist was to satisfy all men's material wants and animal instincts to the full. Of course, we must admit that this also is the great error of Capitalist society. The main difference is that in Communism the self-indulgence is organised. If you believe in self-indulgence as the basis of life, then, if you are poor, be a Communist, but, if you are rich, stay where you are. There is no reason why you shouldn't, except that if you are a Catholic you cannot believe in self-indulgence as the principle of life at all. The Communist is really trying to create a new world with the old materials, but using them in a different way. We say the materials are useless, that the world will never be better under any system unless men are governed by sacrifice, justice and charity. These are only possible to a Christian. It is of no use blaming a system. It is the men who make the system. It is the men who

guide it. If the men are good men, the system will be a good one and will work. If the men are bad men, the system, no matter how scientific, will fail. You cannot make a cricket team with regulations and constitutions. You need good cricketers. Similarly, you cannot have a just system without just men. There's not enough examination of conscience going on among men. They have forgotten the tenth Commandment.

"But do not be misled. The Church doesn't ask any man to be satisfied with injustice. Religion is not the opium of the people, despite the Communist. The Church stands for property for the worker, for without property freedom is a myth; she stands for a just wage sufficient to keep his family in comfort, and to educate them and to provide for his old age. She says that in bad times the profits should suffer before the pay roll, and she encourages every effort to procure such conditions as long as the means used are Christian. The end doesn't justify any means except to a pagan and a Communist. But the Church doesn't believe that justice is synonymous with equality of income, for the very good reason that men are not equal except as regards their souls. Certainly every man has a God-given right to exist and to live well, but each man has not a right to be a millionaire, if, indeed, anyone has in these times. But to-day every man wants everything. The maximum of wealth with the minimum of effort is the watchword. Even Communism will never achieve this. Let us be sane. We shall never be a race of millionaires—there will always be trials and difficulties and suffering—even if Communism succeeds.

"It is hard to believe that peace and love can result from hate and the class war, but anyhow the main point for Catholics is not whether it succeeds or not, but that it is wrong. We would not be convinced even if Communism turned out to be the greatest economic success the world has seen. It won't, but suppose it does. Then we say it is still wrong. If a man robs a bank and gets away with it, he is economically successful, but that doesn't make his action good. Even Judas succeeded materially—he got thirty pieces of silver!

"We are not worried about whether the Russians are better off or not. They could not be much worse off than they were before the revolution, simply because the country was undeveloped. We condemn Communism because it is wrong—its principles are at variance with Christian truth.

"Communism stands or falls on Atheism. Atheism is its basis. There are a number of milk and water Communists who do not realise this, but listen to Lenin—'Our programme necessarily includes the propaganda of Atheism.' Note the word 'necessarily.' Now, Lenin ought to know. He made whatever Communism there is, and he was the greatest man in the revolution. He knew that Atheism and Communism went hand in hand. Not only the basis, but every principle of the Communist outlook can be shown to be in direct conflict with Christian doctrine. Atheism is sufficient for the present.

"If you believe in God, you cannot be a Communist. If you do not believe in God, then be what you will. You will be dust in a few years, anyhow, so believe what you like. Don't worry about your fellow man at all—he, too, is only an animal. If you become a Communist, though there is no reason why you should, you'll find that you'll be more restricted in your conduct than if you were to become a Christian."—(May, 1941.)

6.—HOW TO MAKE A COMMUNIST.

The following recipe is not an entirely original one, but its publication may, perhaps, arouse the attention of social epicures and, it maybe, produce a wholesome discussion and ventilation of ideas on the matter.

Readers also may know of interesting variations of the recipe, and for those who cannot stomach the dish, the best antidote. For if ever it could be said of any dish it can be said of this, that one man's meat is another man's poison!

"First, take a decent, hard-working wage-earner. A good Catholic is preferable. It also adds a certain 'tang' to the dish if he has an honest, thrifty wife, four or five children, and a clean, happy and contented home.

"The enjoyment of the dish is considerably heightened, too, if, in spite of the circumstances of our times, there are a few pounds saved for a rainy day. (This, however, is not necessary, and we have personal experience of many cases which were quite successful without it.)

"The subject should be singed gently, and the savings, if any, removed slowly by various means—e.g., in spite of all he may do, insanitary housing conditions will soon bring the required illness to the family; and given a reasonable medical man, with a full appreciation of the conditions and the results you wish to achieve, the abstraction of the nest-egg is quite simple. (It is possible that an undertaker may be required to assist in this process.) In some districts it may be very difficult to find a doctor of the required calibre, as a great number of doctors even yet have old-fashioned ideas about charity, and are quite capable of charging no fee at all, if they think the patient cannot afford it!

"The doctor concerned must charge a very high fee, and ostentatiously—some of the newspapers may assist here—give the money thus acquired for some charitable object. The true epicure will appreciate this added delight, and any difficulty in finding a suitable doctor is amply compensated.

"Now, the employer must be employed! He should be a 'hard-headed business man' if possible, with an eye on dividends. He should have the common view that a just wage is *not* one of the first charges upon industry—that a dividend may be paid before ample provision is made for the payment of a just wage. In these circumstances it should not be difficult to persuade him to effect

some 'economies' in the matter of wages in order to provide a handsome dividend. By this time the dish will be well warmed up.

"And here even a slight rise in rent will be found most effective. If a prosecution for arrears of rent, and, perhaps, an eviction, can be arranged, so much the better. But the cook must be careful to rub salt well into any raw flesh which may appear as a result of these processes.

"A little time in the slums without sufficient milk or food for the family is now in order; and perhaps the employer may even be persuaded to discharge the subject on the grounds that he can no longer 'keep up the appearance' necessary to the business. It is one of the delights of culinary practice to see the subject's wrath at this point—whether it be kept bottled up or allowed to explode. The cook, however, need have no fear, for he will be well protected.

"The first roasting process may be achieved by some hard words on the question of idleness, slovenliness, street corner loafers 'living fat on the dole,' etc. But great care must be exercised that nothing of the nature of a Papal Encyclical on social questions be allowed near the dish, as this has been known to render vain even the best cook's efforts. This precaution taken, the subject may be handed over to a Bolshie waiter and served up as a first-class Communist.

"For condiment, spices, etc., the landlord, the rent agent, the employer, the solicitor, the doctor, might well be excellent Catholics in ever so many respects—might even be prominent in Catholic organisations—but, unfortunately, belong to the large number who, in reading the words of the Pope and the Church on social matters, consider they apply to all others, but not to them.

"All who wish to use this recipe are free to do so. There is no fee, and no copyright. It is found from experience that for one good result achieved in the making of a Communist by argument and 'philosophical' discussion, there must be thousands achieved by a method similar to the one given above. (*February, 1938.*)

7.—THE CONVERSION OF COMMUNISTS.

"Speaking on the death of Pope Pius XI., Fr. J. Cardijn (Founder of the Y.C.W.), said: 'Never did the Pope want an anti-Marxist front. Never did he wish to align himself with any materialistic regime or have recourse to methods of violence to combat Communism. For Pius XI. 'to conquer' meant 'to convert.' And force does not make conversions. If Pius was always watchful against all compromise he always inculcated with unmistakeable emphasis—taking occasion of the most solemn opportunities to do so—the charity of the Good Samaritan, which binds up all wounds and covers with its mantle every kind of suffering. How well Pius XI. understood the grievous wounds of the workers! How he felt their sufferings and wished to cure them all!'—(*May 6, 1939.*)

CHAPTER XII.

The Making of Men

1. *THE CALL TO HEROISM.*
2. *PRAYER IN THE LIFE OF THE WORKER.*
3. *THE TEACHING OF THE FAITH.*
4. *THE FACT OF DEATH.*
5. *THE BATTLE IS NOT OVER.*

1.—THE CALL TO HEROISM.

"The man who still thinks the world is Christian is either an optimist or a lunatic, for it is not. It is pagan—pagan in outlook, pagan in spirit, and rapidly becoming pagan in practice. We must face the fact that a great number of men consider the very idea of a God as imagination, and that the great majority of those who believe in Him regard Him as an absentee, for they live their lives without any reference to His will.

"Such are the men Catholics have to live with, and they are in the majority. This is what makes it so hard to be a Catholic in these times—it is like swimming against the tide with your clothes on. Some of us haven't quite realised it yet, and are still basking in pre-war respectability and believe in the peculiar doctrine of progress. But all this has gone for good. The Great War shattered progress into a thousand pieces, and despair rather than hope is the keynote of our literature. Paganism is growing in strength, and unless you are a very good Catholic, you'll be swept along in the stream. We live among men who believe Birth Control a boon, Communism a possibility, sterilisation and race suicide as advantages, and in materialism as an ultimate standard; you have to be a man of firm faith or you'll go with them. These are extra-ordinary times, and call for extra-ordinary Catholics. Otherwise, in countries such as ours, extinction is a possibility.

"The hardest lot of all falls to the Catholic worker, because he works in a collective sphere. It is the experience of the human race that where you have a great number of men gathered together for any length of time, the general moral standard is lowered. The Catholic worker has to be a hero, in fact almost a saint. True, there is no organised attack on his Faith. If there were, he would at least have something definite to defend himself against. The persecution, however, is more subtle—it is ridicule and contempt. His fellow-workers think obscenity is funny, and any man of religion as a 'wowser.' Wonderful word! It used to mean a puritan, but now it means any man who prays. He is an oddity; he is beyond the pale; a mug who has been got at by the priests. Moreover, a

man who prays cannot be a real 'he-man,' which is a peculiar complex possessed by many Australian men. We have never quite recovered from W. S. Hart and Buck Jones, and the other strong, silent heroes of the wild west. Thus, praying is all right for women. But, for a full grown man! The idea is absurd. There is only one word to describe all this, and that is 'bunk.' As for courage, which is one of the hall-marks of a husky, we know that it takes more courage to spend one day of the life of Father Damien among the lepers than to save all the heroines who ever called for help on the plains of Texas.

"That great Christian institution of the family is disappearing because men have identified love with lust. If the Catholic worker has a large family he is subject to jeers and scoffs. We Australians, after about a hundred years of existence, are a dwindling race. That's something to be proud of! We might live to regret it—it will not be very inspiring to be the servile people of an Asiatic conqueror.

"And then there are the Communists. Those simple-minded men who believe that by abolishing God and organising materialism at the point of the bayonet that complete happiness will be achieved for all. What sublime faith! We shall all be playing oranges and lemons in the Garden of Eden on earth—'an association in which the free development of each is the condition of the free development of all.' I seem to remember the first democrats believing something like this, if it means anything at all. If we will consent to be machines, Utopia is offered to us; and if we don't, it will be forced on us. Catholics are not called upon to believe anything so absurd or unlikely as this. One would have thought, after forty or fifty centuries of suffering which has been the recorded lot of the human race, that there might be something in the doctrine of original sin, after all.

"The old faith is at war with the new paganism. In some places it is accompanied by bloodshed, as in Russia, Mexico, and Germany, but even in the others it is none the less real. That is why Pope Pius XI. has sent forth the clarion call of Catholic Action. Every Catholic must now be a fighter. Our arms are prayer, study, charity, and apostolicity. We must know our faith, we must live our faith, and we must spread our faith. Dawson has said: 'A Catholic has only to be to change the face of the earth,' and it is about time three hundred and fifty million people made their presence felt. That is why the Catholic world is being studded with little cells of activity. Study groups, lectures, pamphlets, conferences, new organisations in every country in the world, are preparing the faith for the struggle which will come. This is not the time to be a Catholic and a doctor or a Catholic and a worker. We want Catholic workers and Catholic doctors, Catholic in everything, not just for a half an hour on Sunday. There is a new Crusade—all must be Crusaders. God is on our side, and with the grace of God did not twelve ignorant Jews conquer the world?"
—(February 1st, 1936.)

2.—PRAYER IN THE LIFE OF THE WORKER.

"Prayer and the Worker! The very suggestion will undoubtedly bring a contemptuous smile or scornful jibe to the lips of our pagan fellow worker.

"This, however, is only a reason for more prayer when we have to live and work among men who know not God.

"Life to such as these is like a train going nowhere from nowhere for no reason at all. Existence for them is a mystery, without purpose or plan.

"Let us not mind the jibes and sneers, for 'they know not what they do.' After all, we are in good company. Christ Himself endured such things. Indeed, He told us to expect them.

"And let us not be angry with them. Rather they deserve our pity and our prayers. Let us return good for evil for the sake of Him Who gave all.

"Men, when they do not worship God, usually worship self, and men who worship self find it most undignified to kneel and admit their nothingness to their God. They think prayer is unmanly, effeminate. 'The wife and kids go to church, but not me,' they say, and they think, 'I'm really too big for all that, a he-man, in fact, a real dyed-in-the-wool husky; now the races are different, etc., etc.' Yet the long line of Catholic saints and martyrs bears eloquent witness to the fact that the most courageous, the most unselfish of men, and those who have done most for the human race, are those who have prayed most.

"Prayer, however, is somewhat of a problem for even the most conscientious of us in these full days, so that it may be useful to consider what the worker can and should do in this regard.

"Now, the two earliest risers after the night's repose are the workers and the priests. And when we rise in the morning it may help us to pray if we consider that at the same moment the priest is preparing to offer sacrifice on our behalf to God that He may bless the day. Let us also join in the offering by offering our day, by determining to do our duty for the day as well as we can, so that it may be worthy of offering to God. So the Morning Offering should be said.

"Next, we can do no better than repeat these words, which have meant so much to humanity, dictated by Christ Himself: 'Our Father Who art in heaven,' expressing the extraordinary relationship of father and child between God and Man; 'Hallowed be Thy Name,' words of praise; 'Thy will be done,' submission to the Creator; 'Give us this day,' a plea for aid; 'Forgive us our trespasses,' request for forgiveness; and 'Deliver us from evil,' trust in God's aid. All the wisdom of the East and West combined has not produced anything so sublime in conception as these simple words of the Our Father, which we so often repeat mechanically and without contemplation.

"A third prayer, which should never be absent from our morning conversation with God, is the Hail Mary, to her whom Christ has given us for a Mother, and to whom great honour is due.

"Whatever else we do, whatever other prayers we say, let us say these three prayers well every morning. For our night prayers let us offer thanks and beg protection and say the Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity, and pray for our own private intentions.

"In some parts of the world and by very experienced churchmen it has been suggested that an evening Mass should be instituted to help those who cannot possibly get to Mass every morning. Such a Mass would not be a new thing in the history of the Church.

"However this may be, for the present we must concentrate on saying the old prayers well. Lest they become automatic, let us pause after each phrase and put thought into our own words. Never mind whether they make you feel holy or not. Feeling doesn't count. It is the good-will which counts.

"It is a hard fight to remain Christian in the modern atmosphere, and besides these daily devotions and the Sunday Mass, monthly attendance at the Sacraments is extremely desirable, if not a virtual necessity in some cases.

"Finally, two other matters are of vital importance. Firstly, teach your children to pray—do not wait for the nuns to teach them. It is *your* job, and it gives the Nuns and Brothers a chance later on. Secondly, if you find Mass tiring, don't blame the Mass. Blame yourself, and go and find out something about it. Read about it, think about it, learn its meaning and soon you will love the Mass. And if you love the Mass, many problems solve themselves."—(May, 1942.)

"Prayer is not merely a matter of supplication. In the first place, it is an acknowledgment of our dependence on God. The world has been satisfied to go its own way, ignoring God where it has not openly denied or blasphemed Him. Now that it is plunged into chaos it blames God!

"We must pay God the homage that is His due as Creator of all things, and we must offer, too, reparation for all the injuries and insults offered Him. Coupled with this homage and reparation should be thanksgiving for the benefits conferred upon us. Thanksgiving that as yet Australia has been spared the horrors of invasion; thanksgiving for the gift of faith and the freedom to practise it; thanksgiving for the thousand and one favours bestowed upon us individually, for prayer should be a personal thing.

"And then we can ask for the thing that everyone desires—the deliverance of the world from this horror that afflicts it, this scourge that has ravaged the hearts and homes of so many. Ask, too, that those who groan under the yoke of tyranny may be freed again; that those denied the right to practise their religion may have it speedily restored to them; that the suffering of the wounded and the sick may be alleviated; that the want and misery of the destitute may be relieved; that those separated from their families may soon be returned; that the souls of those who have lost their lives may find eternal rest.

"Ever before us should be the example of Christ, Who on the night of His agony prayed, 'Father, if it be possible let this chalice pass from Me, nevertheless not My will, but Thine be done.'"

"It is not sufficient to bow down before God in this our hour of trial. There must be the firm resolution that henceforth we will seek first the kingdom of God and His Justice; that never more will we seek to order our affairs without reference to His laws. We must be prepared to banish from our lives for ever the greed and selfishness, pride and lust, which in the final analysis are the causes of the misery and chaos in which we welter to-day.

"And, finally, there must be perseverance. This is a total war. Ours must be a total war effort. Pray morning, noon and night. Never let up the assault upon Heaven. Sanctify your day's work by a fervent morning offering; lift your heart to God a thousand times a day; assist at the sacrifice of the Mass as often as you can; frequent the Sacraments with renewed fervour and devotion."—*(November, 1942.)*

3.—THE TEACHING OF THE FAITH.

"Two thousand years ago and more the armies of pagan Rome swept and subdued the continent of Europe.

"Within four life-times of the Resurrection of Christ, Catholics had converted the pagan capital and laid the foundations of a Christian Social Order.

"The Catholics of those early years started from scratch. without newspapers, without the radio, without schools, without religious Orders, without churches. The Church had begun life in a stable! For centuries it had survived in the catacombs, a fugitive, hidden, conquering, creative Thing.

"Yet it won the soul of pagan Europe—simply because Catholic parents taught the catechism to their children.

"Three years ago, there were tens of thousands of Catholic schools throughout Europe for the teaching of the Christian Faith. Those schools are empty now. And all over Europe Catholic parents are faced with the tremendous job of having to teach the very elements of the Christian Faith to their children, for they can no longer find the Brothers and Nuns and the schools which formerly performed that task.

"Australian Catholics come largely from a land in which for three centuries the Faith was only able to survive because generation after generation of Catholic parents themselves taught their children the old Faith.

"If war or persecution struck the Church in Australia in the next few years—or even in the next few weeks—would you be able to teach your children their religion? Would you be able to start where the Brothers and Nuns left off? Would you be able to give your children, young Pat and young Ted, young Monica and young

Mary, the reasons for the Faith that is in you? Are you ready for what might follow from war or persecution?

"It is the duty of every Catholic parent to be in a position to teach their own children the elements of the Catechism. It is one of your urgent duties now.

"The world knows the present war is due to the tragic fact that men have not done what is right and have done what is wrong. If you wish your children to be able to distinguish between right and wrong, if you wish them to do what is right and not to blunder into what is wrong, if you want them to do God's will on earth so that they may be with God in heaven after death, then get together a few books to-day that will enable *your* family at least to be ready to undertake the teaching of religion in your own home, so that, even if war, invasion or persecution ever come to Australia, you would be able to start building up again the Christian Faith and the Christian Church here in our own land."—(*July, 1940.*)

4.—THE FACT OF DEATH.

"War, more than anything else, brings us face to face with a fact which the modern world has been trying to forget—the fact of death.

"Despite the inevitability of death, it always comes as a shock because the twentieth century, with all its talk of progress and its reckless pursuit of pleasure, has run away from a problem which must sooner or later be faced.

"All the beautiful philosophies which are proposed to us in place of Christianity break down when they reach the last hurdle of death. What good is the Brave New World, the Utopia of collective ownership, the word paintings of Mr. Wells, if we must leave them all at a moment's notice to become dust?

"But, to the Christian, death is not the end. One death in history has raised death from being the terror and black robber of man's happiness. The death of Christ was meant to remove forever the torment of the pagan world, for was it not followed gloriously by the Resurrection?

"Death is not the end, but the beginning. For the Christian everything is illuminated by the death of Christ. For the pagan all is darkness.

"Now everything has value. The good act really matters. Justice, morality, sacrifice, have importance. Man must lead a good life not just for the sake of convenience during his short span on earth, but because he is immortal, because he is on trial and the judgment will not come until death.

"Death merely means that the show is over. Man has reached his goal—union with God, won for him by the Crucifixion of Christ."—(*September, 1940.*)

5.—THE BATTLE IS NOT OVER.

"History affords innumerable examples of men who have lived and died for an idea, and of men who have sacrificed their lives for a leader. Our loyalty is to no idea, but to a fact—the fact of Christ and Him crucified; to no mere man, but to One Who was God. So, also, our loyalty must be no idea; it must be a fact. It must be reflected in our lives; not merely at Mass or at prayer, but at all times. In these days a man should not have to be asked if he is a Christian—it should be apparent from his life. In other words, we must not merely proclaim, we must live our loyalty to Christ. This is the most important thing in the world.

"This is no time for sleeping members of the Church militant. All must pray for the Faith, all must learn the Faith, all must live the Faith. All must be prepared, if ever the time should arise, to give up their lives for the Faith after the manner of the saintly martyr of Mexico, Father Pro, with a joyful cry from the heart of LONG LIVE CHRIST THE KING!"—(November, 1936.)

"One thing alone sees a meaning in each one of those nineteen hundred and thirty-seven years, the last of which is barely gone. And that thing is the Catholic Church. No institution which saw the birth of the Church lives on to-day. Greek antiquity dazzled the world with the splendour of its glory, but Greek antiquity is gone, faded into the antiquity of Rome, as the spring fades into summer. Rome lived to give a name to a civilisation and to an Empire, but it is fifteen hundred years since that Empire ceased to be more than a name. The Vandals, and the Goths, the Danes, the Lombards and the Huns, surged across the ashes of Rome with the swiftness of a falling star. New Kingdoms arose, new Empires, which soon became old, old Empires which fell. The Saracen hewed a path of blood across the African litoral, flung his hordes into Spain—and then fell back. Five hundred years later the fleets of Islam spread terror through the Inland Sea—a Sultan swore that he would stable his horses on the high altar of St. Peter's—Italy trembled as Turkish scimitars flashed in the streets of Otranto—and then an old man, the fifth Pius to occupy the chair of Peter, inspired the young heart of Don John of Austria, and the great Christian victory of Lepanto saved Europe for Civilisation. With the Turk at the gates of Vienna, it was the great Catholic monarch, John Sobieski, King of Poland, who, in the name of the Cross, repelled the Mussulman invader.

"For nineteen hundred years Catholics have fought for the life of their Church. The great heroes of the Church are great names in the annals of mankind. But if the Church has triumphed, if to-day it lives to fight on, it is not so much because of the mighty exploits of the few, as because of the simple heroism of the common man.

"To-day is the day of the common man. It was his day when the infant Church emerged from the seething chaos of paganism

amid a welter of conflicting creeds. It was his toil, his sweat, his blood, which were the foundation of the one institution which saw the iron majesty of Rome crumble into decay, and which lives on to-day, the one bulwark of human liberty against the menace of the new God-State, Fascist and Communist.—(*January, 1938.*)



APPENDIX I.

JOINT STATEMENT BY ARCHBISHOP MOWLL (ANGLICAN) AND ARCHBISHOP GILROY (CATHOLIC), OF SYDNEY, ON THE PROBLEM OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION . . . 1943

"In view of the importance of a right approach to the problems that must arise in connection with post-war reconstruction, we hope that the following statement, which we have jointly signed, may be a help in guiding the thoughts of the community and especially of the members of our respective Churches."

"A common peril threatens us to-day as citizens of Australia and of the British Commonwealth. All who profess the Christian Faith—without compromising their own doctrines—possess, in the virtue of love or charity, common ground on which to rally. Disregard of charity and justice by individuals and peoples has been responsible for the national and international disorder we see around us. The part of religion in the conduct of public affairs has declined. There is a tendency to regulate life by purely economic standards. Christians, however, are in duty bound to plan and work for a reconstruction of society on Christian lines, so as to obtain right order for the nation and co-operation between all men.

DUTY OF STATE

"From the grouping of men in families with common interests another relationship of men arises—namely, the State. The State is a civil society arising from men's nature and possessed of rights and duties in conformity with that nature. It is the duty of the State to respect the rights of the individual. The State must ensure freedom to the individual to live in accordance with the law of God in his relationship with his fellow men as a citizen. It is the duty of the State towards its citizens:

"(a) To maintain and develop the conditions necessary for the full realisation of their physical, intellectual and moral life as individuals, and particularly as members of family groups.

"(b) To assist them to secure a religious background and upbringing as part of their education and to guarantee freedom of worship and freedom to propagate religious belief, subject only to the requirements of public order.

"(c) To protect the decencies of life from attack by word or deed—that is, blasphemy or obscenity.

"(d) To guarantee standards of individual and family security through a policy of full employment and the development of social services.

"(e) To preserve the rights of free speech, free assembly and free association, and of freedom to seek the alteration of existing laws through constitutional channels.

"(f) To secure, so far as may be possible, the right to the free choice of a state in life.

"(g) To safeguard man's natural right to private property, and ownership and use of land and material goods to the extent required for the full development of his personality. The exercise of this right and the development of his personality must be conditioned by the rights and welfare of others.

"(h) To safeguard, also, man's independence in the fulfilment of individual family and social duties.

DUTY OF CITIZENS

"It is the duty of the citizen towards the State:

"(a) To exert his influence in securing honest and efficient Government.

"(b) To obey constituted authority exercised through constitutional forms, and to co-operate with the Government for the common good.

"(c) To acquire a general knowledge of the rights, duties and limitations of the State, and the trend of legislation and administration.

"In view of these duties, any form of State organisation is to be condemned which:

"(a) Ignores or denies man's fundamental duty and privilege to worship God and to develop his personal life in freedom.

"(b) Wholly subordinates the individual or the family to the State.

"(c) Concentrates power in the hands of a few to the detriment both of individuals and of common rights. Nazism, Fascism and Communism are to be condemned on these grounds. The organisation of the State in the exclusive interests of a group, who, whether capitalists or workers, is equally to be condemned.

"2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

"3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognized need revise and correct them.

"4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

"5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolate standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by the universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

THE LAW FOR AUSTRALIA.

"The principles we have stated have a special application to our own country. We regard the tenure of this country by our race as a stewardship from God, which requires its full use and development.

"We believe our continued tenure of it to be wholly dependent upon our fulfilling of this stewardship.

"To this end we regard it as the responsibility of the Government to encourage a very large increase in population:

"(a) By providing economic security for large families by such means as a graduated family wage and ownership of the family home.

"(b) By developing through reform in the educational system a mental outlook favourable to the rearing of large families.

"(c) By encouraging planned immigration.

"The Government should make every effort to mitigate the excessive drift from country to town:

"(a) By using all available means to develop the rural areas and to provide every kind of social and educational amenity for a rural population.

"(b) By vigorous action to prevent the wastage or destruction of our natural resources through the greed, folly or irresponsibility of individuals or institutions.

CONCLUSION

"Much of what we have said touches upon problems of the highest delicacy and complexity. Many of them are dealt with in some detail in 'A Christian Programme for Social Justice,' put forth by a Melbourne Committee representing all the chief Christian bodies and in 'Pattern for Peace,' as also in the 'Manifesto by South Australian Church Leaders' published in 1941.

"Complex as these problems are, we believe that the solution of them is within the reach of men of capacity and goodwill. But their solution is possible on one basis only. The civilisation which we have inherited rose upon the foundation of those Christian principles which we have here affirmed. When they were disregarded it began to decay. If they are not now implemented it must perish.

"Even Christian principles, however, are not in themselves sufficient. No new social order is possible unless the hearts of individuals and communities are moved by the Spirit of God first to desire, and then unselfishly to work towards the Christian ideal in personal and social life.

"To this end we, with all Christian people, will steadfastly work and pray."

APPENDIX III

TWENTY-POINT PROGRAMME ON CHRISTIAN COLLABORATION FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE Melbourne, 1943

This programme is the work of a Joint Committee on which were representatives of nearly every Christian denomination in Melbourne. Organisations which participated were:

ANGLICAN SOCIAL QUESTIONS COMMITTEE,
CATHOLIC ACTION SECRETARIAT,
CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ORDER COUNCIL.

(This Council represents a number of organisations and the following Churches: Australian, Baptist, Churches of Christ, Congregational, Latter Day Saints, Methodist, Presbyterian, Society of Friends.)

This programme does not necessarily express the complete or official view of any of the Churches concerned.

The Common Programme which is suggested is based upon the Five Points relating to the internal social order which were agreed upon by the English Church leaders in 1940. On December 21, 1940, they published a "Joint Statement," signed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council.

The programme represents an attempt to work out a practical application of these points to present-day Australian conditions. The aim has been to make the programme sufficiently specific and detailed to enable us to rebut the accusation that we are concerned only with the dissemination of abstract principles, and yet sufficiently wide to enable us to reach a general agreement. As democratic and Christian citizens facing the necessity of a new world order, we are convinced that—

I.—"EXTREME INEQUALITY IN WEALTH AND POSSESSIONS SHOULD BE ABOLISHED."

(Point One in the Joint Statement.)

General Australian Application.

Property should be used in accordance with Christian principles, and should not be so abused that property and power are increasingly concentrated in the hands of a monopolistic few, and thereby divorced from the masses.

More Detailed Application.

1. The Public Control of Monopolies.—All industries which have reached the monopoly stage, or which are so important in the national economy that their control by private individuals might endanger the common good, should be publicly controlled.

2. The Public Control of Credit.—In the productive process we recognise the interests of three parties—the producer, the distributor, and the consumer. We maintain that money or credit are not commodities, but simply means of exchange. In the national interest we proclaim our belief that credit should be publicly controlled, *e.g.*, "the monetary system shall be so administered that what the community can produce is made available to members of the community, the satisfaction of human needs being accepted as the only true end of production" (Malvern Conference).

(In several places in this document we shall quote extracts from the Report of the Anglican Conference held at Malvern, England, and now known as the "Malvern Conference." We do this because of the very clear and eloquent language in which the framers of this Report have expressed many aspects of the Christian viewpoint on social justice.)

3. The Institution of Industrial Councils.—"The status of men as men, independently of the economic process, must find expression in the managerial framework of industry; the rights of labour must be recognised as in principle equal to those of capital in the control of industry" (Malvern Conference).

To effect this, Industrial Councils should be developed in each industry. They should be developed organically from below, and not imposed from above. They should be self-governing bodies, which should control all the operations of each industry—including wages, prices, dividends, and profits. They should be endowed with plenary authority to fulfil their proper functions. They should be composed of representatives, in equal numbers, of workers and employers of their respective industries and of the general public.

These Industrial Councils should be subject to the co-ordinating power of the State, which should ensure their proper subordination to the common weal, but should not infringe the properly exercised self-government of these Councils.

4. Assistance to Small Owners.—During the period of transition from individual to co-operative effort, effective measures should be taken by the State to protect small shopkeepers and tradesmen from undue competition from chain stores and department stores and mass-production methods.

5. Part Ownership of Industry for the Workers.—“The existing industrial order, with the acquisitive temper characteristic of our society, is largely responsible for the problem of the ‘mass man,’ who is conscious of no status, spiritual or social, who is a mere item in the machinery of production, and who easily develops the herd psychology, which is automatically responsive to skilful propaganda” (Malvern Conference).

In the opening up of new industries and the reorganisation of existing industries, the workers should be given an effective share in the ownership, control and profits of the industry.

6. Co-Operation.—Legislative, financial and technical assistance should be given to movements aiming at the spread of co-operation in all its aspects—producers’, consumers’, marketing and insurance co-operatives, and credit unions.

II.—“THE FAMILY AS A SOCIAL UNIT MUST BE SAFEGUARDED.”

(Point Three in the Joint Statement.)

General Australian Application.

All men should be given the assurance of a livelihood for themselves and their families, under conditions befitting their dignity as sons of God.

More Detailed Application.

7. Recognition of the Principle of Adequate Income for All, including those on the land.

The minimum wage received, supplemented as hereinafter suggested, should be sufficient to enable all to:

- (a) Secure proper maintenance for themselves and their families.
- (b) Have the opportunity of acquiring adequate amounts of property for themselves.
- (c) Make suitable provision, through public or private insurance, for periods of illness and for old age.
- (d) Improve the cultural condition in which they and their families live.

The better to achieve these we suggest:

8. Special Assistance to Family Life.

(i.) The Payment of a Marriage Bonus.—This should be paid (on marriage) by the State to enable all to purchase in part their homes and furniture.

(ii.) The Payment of Adequate Family Allowances.—These should be paid by the State as an addition to wages, to enable the recipient to maintain his wife and each of his dependant children. The payment should be made by the State in the form of a family allowance, which should be adequate for the maintenance of each recipient concerned.

(iii.) The Right to Adequate Income Must Be Assured to All.—“Inasmuch as human status ought not to depend upon the changing demands of the economic process, no one should be deprived of the support necessary for the ‘good life’ by the fact that there is at some time no demand for his labour” (Malvern Conference).

Failing the provision of work, the family wage should be the provision of all those who are willing to work.

9. Wages Shall Come Before Dividends and Profits.

In all machinery of wage-fixation there should be complete recognition of the principle that wages are the first charge on industry.

10. Equal Pay for Equal Work.—To prevent the exploitation of female labour, the principle of equal pay for equal work should be recognised.

11. Possession of Family Homes By All.—“In all that is planned, regard must be paid to the family, as, by God’s appointment, the basic social unit on whose stability and welfare all other social welfare in large measure depends” (Malvern Conference).

All should be able to possess their own family homes on blocks of land adequate for normal family needs. The machinery to provide this should ensure that all are able effectively to exercise this right.

III.—“THE RESOURCES OF THE EARTH SHOULD BE USED AS GOD’S GIFT TO THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE, AND USED WITH DUE CONSIDERATION OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.”

(Point Five in the Joint Statement.)

General Australian Application.

The reconstruction of agriculture shall be based upon the concept of the land as a way of life, and national policy shall be directed against those vested

interests and noxious policies which derive from the exploitation of the soil and natural resources primarily for commercial returns.

More Detailed Application.

12. Decentralisation.

(a) To preserve the family life of the rural population, a consistent policy should be adopted of establishing new industries in country areas.

(b) All ports, roads, and rail systems, the use of which would combat the present excessive centralisation, should be utilised to the full, and any transport facilities provided in the future should be planned with a view to decentralisation.

(c) A programme of rural housing should be undertaken to equip country homes with the conveniences of the city—electricity, sanitation, water supply, refrigeration.

13. National Campaign for Family Land Settlement.—Governments should inaugurate a vigorous policy of land settlement. Large estates capable of subdivision, land being operated for absentee landlords, especially for financial institutions, should be resumed by the Government and made available to those who wish to earn their livelihood on the land.

14. Freedom from the Thralldom of Debt.—“The existing industrial order tends to recklessness and sacrifice in the treatment of natural resources. It has led to the impoverishment of the agricultural community” (Malvern Conference).

Adequate means should be taken by the public authorities to prevent the sale of land at inflated prices.

(a) All debts owed by farmers to the State, financial institutions and private creditors should be re-examined and remitted, either wholly or in part, in accordance with the real value of the land and the amount which has already been repaid. The objective of this measure should be not merely to tide the rural community over a temporary crisis, but to place it on a sound and permanent financial footing, allowing the farmer to practise his craft as a way of life, and not as a commercial exploitation of the soil.

(b) Interest on loans should in future be limited to a percentage which is equitable in the light of reduced financial returns for primary products.

(c) Since the home and property of the farming family belongs not only to one, but to all generations, its use as security for newly contracted debts should be completely forbidden. Adequate measures should be taken by the public authorities to prevent the sale of land at inflated prices.

15. Independent Farming.—“We must recover reverence for the earth and its resources, treating it no longer as a reservoir of potential wealth to be exploited, but as a storehouse of Divine beauty on which we utterly depend” (Malvern Conference).

The objective to be placed before our farmers is that they should no longer regard the farm as a mere source of products to be sold for profit, but that they should set themselves a twofold objective:

(i.) To live as far as possible off their own land, by producing as much food as is possible for the family's requirements.

(ii.) When this has been achieved to produce a diversity of products for sale rather than only one or two, so that the hazard of financial insecurity shall be lessened.

16. Co-Operation in Agriculture.—Special emphasis should be placed on the necessity for co-operation throughout the rural community, as a means of reducing the present excessive costs with which agriculture is burdened:

(a) The State, on its part, should provide, in whatever regions possible, new plans of irrigation and water conservation so that this objective may be achieved. These should be freed from any exorbitant charge to the farmer, and should be financed as public works enriching the nation as a whole through helping the rural community to be placed on a firm and stable basis.

(b) The State should provide whatever further financial and technical assistance may be required to enable production to be diversified, and so to lessen the dependence of farmers on the overseas market, which has been fraught with so much disaster for them in the past.

17. Fair Return for Farm Products.

(a) In the sale of their products farmers should be guaranteed a price based on the cost of production and a return reasonable to their exertions.

(b) The assurance of a fair return for their products should enable farmers to pay an adequate wage to their employees.

18. The Self-government of Agriculture.—To avoid the menace of excessive individualism on the one hand, and State domination and bureaucracy on the other, the direction of agriculture shall be in the hands of a Rural Council, which shall be composed similarly to the Industrial Councils, and shall enjoy similar autonomy and legislative powers to those provided in Clause 3.

IV.—"EVERY CHILD, REGARDLESS OF RACE OR CLASS, SHOULD HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES OF EDUCATION SUITABLE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS FACULTIES."

(Point Two in the Joint Statement.)

V.—"THE SENSE OF A DIVINE VOCATION MUST BE RESTORED TO MAN'S DAILY WORK."

(Point Four in the Joint Statement.)

Detailed Application of These Two Points (taken together).

19. National System of Education.—"We regard as of primary importance the securing to all children and adolescents the educational opportunities best suited to develop their faculties and to enable them to take their full share as Christian citizens in the life of the community—economic, cultural and spiritual" (Malvern Conference).

(a) Adequate financial provision should be made to ensure that every child, regardless of race or class, shall be entitled to equal opportunities for a full education, with assistance, if necessary, to maintain the child while the period of study is proceeding.

(b) In the general cultural background of education—historical, literary, social and economic—proper emphasis should be placed on the nobility of all work of social value.

(c) This involves the adoption of a policy of providing appropriate technical training, whether in industry, on the land, or in the home.

20. Religion, the Basis of Education.—While coercing none, and according liberty of conscience to all, we maintain that the only right foundation of education of life is Christianity. No system which ignores this essential is in accord with the full needs of the human personality.

AND TO THE ACHIEVEMENT THEREOF WE PLEDGE
OURSELVES INDIVIDUALLY AND CORPORATELY.



